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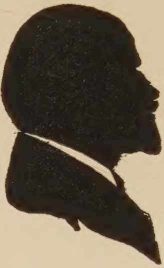

COLLECTED WORKS

OF

V. I. LENIN

Completely revised, edited and annotated.
The only edition authorized by the
V. I. Lenin Institute, Moscow

LENIN

VOLUME XVIII

THE IMPERIALIST WAR

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM AND SOCIAL-PACIFISM 1914-1915

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Translated by
MOISSAYE J. OLGIN

Edited by
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The present volume of Lenin's *Collected Works* covers the early period of the World War. It contains Lenin's writings dealing with the war and the burning problems of the labour movement growing out of it. The article "Karl Marx" which opens the volume is an exception. This succinct and lucid exposition of the life and teachings of Marx, written for a Russian encyclopedia, was begun by Lenin before the outbreak of the war, but was not finished until November, 1914. Chronologically, therefore, it belongs in this volume. The greater part of this essay was brought out in an English translation in the collection of articles on Marx published in 1927 under the title *Karl Marx: Man, Thinker, and Revolutionist,* and was also reprinted as a pamphlet. The translation has been completely revised, and the essay is here published for the first time in full. The numerous references and quotations used by Lenin in this essay have been checked. Where reliable English translations of Marx's and Engels' writings were available—and there are few of these extant—they have been quoted, otherwise translations have been made from the original editions. In general, where books are known to be available in English translation, references are given to the English titles of these books.

The other writings included in this volume appeared in the main as articles in the periodicals *Sotsial-Demokrat, Kommunist,* and other Russian publications of revolutionary Marxism. Many of these writings have come to light only recently. In addition to these articles the volume includes a number of resolutions dealing with the war, the International, and related problems, written by Lenin, which formulated the Bolshevik policies on these questions early in the war. Several letters, and reports of two speeches, are also included. No reports have been preserved of other speeches delivered by Lenin during this period. It is possible that Lenin wrote articles for the foreign Socialist press, particularly for the Swiss papers, but a careful examination of the files of these papers has not yet been made, so that the present edition of Lenin's writings of this period contains only his contributions to the Russian Socialist publications.

The pamphlet *Socialism and War,* which is a systematic presentation of the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward the war and the policies and tactics advocated by them, was written by Lenin jointly with Zinoviev. Lenin definitely wrote only the first chapter and parts of several other chapters. Since Lenin edited the entire pamphlet and attached his name to the work, and since it would be impossible to separate the parts written by Lenin from the entire text, the pamphlet is given in full. As may be seen from the preface to the second edition of the pamphlet, issued in 1918 (p. 218), this pamphlet was published in German, French, and Norwegian, during the war. The translation of the pamphlet in this volume is from the original Russian text.

The article "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" was written in German, probably in November, 1915. The translation is from the German text as published in the *Lenin Collection,* Volume VI, issued by the Lenin Institute.

Following the practice adopted throughout the English translation of Lenin's *Collected Works,* the text proper of Lenin's writings as contained in the Russian edition of Volume XVIII, prepared for publication by the Lenin Institute, has been strictly adhered to. The appendices to the volume contain numerous and extensive explanatory and biographical notes adapted from those prepared by the Lenin Institute for their edition of the volume. The editor has added only such explanatory notes in the form of footnotes to the text or in the appendices as would help to clarify certain points for the English reader. Among the documents reproduced in the appendices will be found resolutions and manifestoes of international Socialist congresses prior to the war, representing the official attitude of the Socialist movement toward war, to which Lenin frequently refers in the present writings. The stand taken by the internationalist elements among the Socialists after the outbreak of the war, the revolutionary position of the Bolsheviks and those who were grouped around them, will be found in a number of official declarations. All these documents have been translated from the German. A bibliography of books and articles in languages other than Russian, a calendar of important events during this period, and a chronology of Lenin's life from the beginning of the war to the end of 1915, complete the appendices to the volume.

March, 1930.

KARL MARX[1]

Written July-November, 1914.
First published in *Granat's Encyclopedia*, Seventh Edition, Vol. XXVIII.

KARL MARX

Karl Marx was born May 5, 1818, in the city of Trier, in the Rhine province of Prussia. His father was a lawyer—a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from the *Gymnasium* in Trier, Marx entered first the University at Bonn, later Berlin University, where he studied jurisprudence, but devoted most of his time to history and philosophy. At the conclusion of his university course in 1841, he submitted his doctoral dissertation on Epicure's philosophy.* Marx at that time was still an adherent of Hegel's idealism. In Berlin he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating from the University, Marx moved to Bonn in the expectation of becoming a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government,—that in 1832 had deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair and in 1836 again refused to allow him to teach, while in 1842 it forbade the young professor, Bruno Bauer, to give lectures at the University—forced Marx to abandon the idea of pursuing an academic career. The development of the ideas of Left Hegelianism in Germany was very rapid at that time. Ludwig Feuerbach in particular, after 1836, began to criticise theology and to turn to materialism, which by 1841 had gained the upper hand in his conceptions (*Das Wesen des Christentums* [*The Essence of Christianity*]) : in 1843 his *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* [*Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*] appeared. Of these works of Feuerbach, Engels subsequently wrote: "One must himself have experienced the liberating effect of these books." * "We" (the Left Hegelians, including Marx) "at once became Feuerbachists." At that time the radical bourgeois of the Rhine province, who had certain points of contact with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper, the *Rheinische Zeitung* [*Rhenish Gazette*], which began to appear on January 1, 1842. Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October, 1842, Marx became the paper's editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne. As the revolutionary-democratic tendency of the paper under Marx's editorship became more and more pronounced, the government first subjected the paper to double and triple censorship, then ordered its complete suppression on April 1, 1843.** At this time Marx was compelled to resign his post as editor, but his resignation did not save the paper, which was forced to suspend publication in March, 1843. Of Marx's larger articles that were published in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, besides those indicated below *** Engels notes an article on the situation of the peasant wine-growers in the Moselle Valley.**** Marx's newspaper work revealed to him that he was not sufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he set out to study it diligently.

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* *Differenz der demokritischen und epikureischen Naturphilosophie* [*The Difference between the Natural Philosophy of Democritus and Epicure*], published by Franz Mehring in *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von K. Marx, F. Engels, und F. Lassalle* [*From the Literary Heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, and F. Lassalle*], 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1902, containing abridged reprints and selections from fugitive writings from 1841 to 1850. The doctoral dissertation was published in full in the *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe* [*Complete Works of Marx and Engels*], Part I, Vol. 1, Book I, Frankfort a.M., 1927. This is the first volume of the projected thirty-six-volume definitive edition of all the writings by Marx and Engels, prepared by the Marx-Engels Institute under the editorship of D. Ryazanov.—*Ed.*

In 1843 Marx married, in Kreuznach, Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend to whom he had been engaged since his student years. His wife came from a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility. Her elder brother was Prussian Minister of the Interior in one of the most reactionary epochs, 1850-1858. In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical magazine abroad, together with Arnold Ruge (1802-1880; a Left Hegelian; in prison, 1825-1830; a political exile after 1843; a Bismarckian, 1866-1870). Only one issue of this magazine, entitled *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* [*German-French Annals*] appeared. It was discontinued owing to the difficulties of distributing the magazine in Germany in

* Literally "of this book." In his *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* [English translation available under the title *Ludwig Feuerbach: The Roots of Socialist Philosophy*, Chicago, 1903] Engels speaks only of *Das Wesen des Christentums.—Ed.*

** In the original Russian text erroneously January 1. The decree of the Board of Censors was issued at the end of January, 1843, and the order for suppression was given out on March 31. Marx resigned his post as editor on March 17 or 18.—*Ed.*

*** See Bibliography at the end of this article.—*Ed.*

**** See *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe, loc. cit.—Ed.*

a secret way, also due to disagreements with Ruge. In his articles published in that magazine,* Marx already appears as a revolutionist, advocating "merciless criticism of everything in existence," particularly "criticism of the weapons," and appealing to the *masses* and to the *proletariat.*

In September, 1844, Friedrich Engels, who from then on was Marx's closest friend, came for a few days to Paris. Both of them took a very active part in the seething life of the revolutionary groups of Paris (where Proudhon's doctrine was then of particular importance; later Marx decisively parted ways with that doctrine in his *Poverty of Philosophy,* 1847). Waging a sharp struggle against the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois Socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary *proletarian Socialism,* otherwise known as Communism (Marxism). For this phase of Marx's activities, see Marx's works of 1844-1848.** In 1845, at the insistence of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris as a dangerous revolutionist. From Paris he moved to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society bearing the name *Bund der Kommunisten* [*Communist League*], at whose second congress they took a prominent part (London, November, 1847), and at whose behest they composed the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* which appeared in February, 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new conception of the world; it represents consistent materialism extended also to the realm of social life; it proclaims dialectics as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; it advances the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat as the creator of a new Communist society.

When the February, 1848, Revolution broke out, Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris and from there, after the March Revolution, to Cologne, in Germany. From June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* [*New Rhenish Gazette*] was published in Cologne with Marx as editor-in-chief. The new doctrine found excellent corroboration in the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-1849, as it has subsequently been corroborated by all the proletarian and democratic movements of all the countries of the world. Victorious counter-revolution in Germany first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted February 9, 1849), then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). He first went to Paris, from where he was also banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849. He then went to London, where he lived to the end of his days.

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* See *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe, loc. cit.—Ed.*

** See Bibliography at the end of this article.—*Ed.*

The life of an emigrant, as revealed most clearly in the correspondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913),* was very hard. Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family. Were it not for Engels' self-sacrifice in rendering financial aid to Marx, he would not only have been unable to complete *Capital,* but would inevitably have perished under the pressure of want. Moreover, the prevailing theories and trends of petty-bourgeois and of non-proletarian Socialism in general forced Marx to wage a continuous and merciless struggle, sometimes to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt* [*Mr. Vogt*]).** Standing aloof from the emigrant circles, Marx developed his materialist doctrine in a number of historical works, giving most of his time to the study of political economy. This science was revolutionised by Marx (see below "Marx's Teaching") in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The period of the revival of democratic movements at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties again called Marx to political activity. On September 28, 1864, the International Workingmen's Association was founded in London—the famous First International. Marx was the soul of this organisation, the author of its first "appeal" and of a host of its resolutions, declarations, manifestoes. Uniting the labour movement of the various countries; striving to direct into the channel of united activities the various forms of the non-proletarian, pre-Marxian Socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade unionism in England, Lassallean Right vacillations in Germany, etc.); fighting against the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out the common tactics of the proletarian struggle of the working class—one and the same in the various countries. After the fall of the Paris Commune (1871) —which Marx analysed, as a man of *action,* a revolutionist, with so much penetration, pertinence and brilliance in his work *The Civil War in France*, 1871 *—and after the International had been split by the Bakuninists, it became impossible for that organisation to keep its headquarters in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872) Marx carried through the transfer of the General Council of the International to New York.** The First International had accomplished its historic role, giving way to an epoch of an infinitely accelerated growth of the labour movement in all the countries of the world, precisely the epoch when this movement grew in *breadth* and *scope*, when *mass* Socialist labour parties were created on the basis of individual national states.

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* *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx* [*The Correspondence between Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx*], 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1913, edited by Eduard Bernstein and August Bebel.—*Ed.*

** Karl Vogt (1817-1895), a German democrat against whom Marx waged a merciless polemic, exposing his connection with Napoleon III. For a brief account of this matter see D. Ryazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* New York and London, 1927, pp. 117-120.—*Ed.*

Strenuous work in the International and still more strenuous theoretical activities undermined Marx's health completely. He continued his work on political economy and the completion of *Capital*, collecting a mass of new material and studying a number of languages (for instance, Russian), but illness did not allow him to finish *Capital*.

On December 2, 1881, his wife died. On March 14, 1883, Marx peacefully passed away in his armchair. He lies buried beside the graves of his wife and Helene Demuth, their devoted servant and almost a member of the family, at the Highgate Cemetery in London.

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* The title later given to the Address written at the request of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and delivered by Marx on May 30, 1871, immediately after the fall of the Paris Commune.—*Ed.*

** The International was formally dissolved at its last congress in Philadelphia on July 15, 1876. For a complete account of the origin and activities of the First International see G. Stekloff, *The History of the First International*, New York and London, 1928, and Hermann Schlueter, *The First International in America*, New York and London, 1930.—*Ed.*

MARX'S TEACHING

MARXISM is the system of the views and teachings of Marx. Marx was the genius who continued and completed the three chief ideological currents of the nineteenth century, represented respectively by the three most advanced countries of humanity: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French Socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines. The remarkable consistency and unity of conception of Marx's views, acknowledged even by his opponents, which in their totality constitute modern materialism and modern scientific Socialism as the theory and programme of the labour movement in all the civilised countries of the world, make it necessary that we present a brief outline of his world conception in general before proceeding to the chief contents of Marxism, namely, the economic doctrine of Marx.

PHILOSOPHIC MATERIALISM

Beginning with the years 1844-1845, when his views were definitely formed, Marx was a materialist, and especially a follower of Feuerbach; even in later times, he saw Feuerbach's weak side only in this, that his materialism was not sufficiently consistent and comprehensive. For Marx, Feuerbach's world-historic and "epoch-making" significance consisted in his having decisively broken away from the idealism of Hegel, and in his proclamation of materialism, which even in the eighteenth century, especially in France, had become "a struggle not only against the existing political institutions, and against . . . religion and theology, but also . . . against every form of metaphysics" (as "intoxicated speculation" in contradistinction to "sober philosophy"). [*Die Heilige Familie* * in the *Literarischer Nachlass.*]

> For Hegel—wrote Marx, in the preface to the second edition of the first volume of *Capital*—the thought process (which he actually transforms into an independent subject, giving to it the name of "idea") is the demiurge [creator]

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* *Die Heilige Familie, Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten* [*The Holy Family, Against Bruno Bauer and Co.*], Frankfort a.M., 1845, in the *Literarischer Nachlass*, Vol. II, pp. 65-326.—*Ed.*

> of the real. . . . In my view, on the other hand, the ideal is nothing other than the material when it has been transposed and translated inside the human head. [*Capital*, Vol. I.] *

In full conformity with Marx's materialist philosophy, and expounding it, Engels wrote in *Anti-Dühring* ** (which Marx read in the manuscript):

> The unity of the world does not consist in its existence. . . . The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved. . . by the long and laborious development of philosophy and natural science. . . .*** Motion is the form of existence of matter. Never and nowhere has there been or can there be matter without motion. . . . Matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter. . . .**** If we enquire . . . what thought and consciousness are, whence they come, we find that they are products of the human brain, and that man himself is a product of nature, developing in and along with his environment. Obviously, therefore, the products of the human brain, being in the last analysis likewise products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature, but correspond to it.*****

Again: "Hegel was an idealist; that is to say, for him the thoughts in his head were not more or less abstract reflections [in the orignal: *Abbilder*, images, copies; sometimes Engels speaks of "imprints"] of real things and processes; but, on the contrary, things and their evolution were, for Hegel, only reflections in reality of the Idea that existed somewhere even prior to the world." ******

In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*—in which Engels expounds his own and Marx's views on Feuerbach's philosophy, and which Engels sent to the press after re-reading an old manuscript, written by Marx and himself in 1844-1845, on Hegel, Feuerbach, and the materialist conception of history *******—Engels writes:

> The great basic question of all, and especially of recent, philosophy, is the question of the relationship between thought and existence, between spirit and nature. . . . Which is prior to the other: spirit or nature? Philosophers are

---

* Preface to second German edition, Eden and Cedar Paul translation, London and New York, 1929, p. 873.

** The abridged title of Engels' celebrated work: *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* [*Mr. Eugen Dühring's Revolutionisation of Science*], published first as a series of articles in the Berlin *Vorwärts* during 1877-1878 and issued in book form in 1878.—*Ed.*

*** *Anti-Dühring*, Stuttgart, 1909, p. 31.—*Ed.*

**** *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.—*Ed.*

***** *Ibid.*, p. 22.—*Ed.*

****** *Ibid.*, p. 9.—*Ed.*

******* See "Marx und Engels über Feuerbach—der erste Teil der deutschen Ideologie," in *Marx-Engels Archiv*, Vol. I, Frankfort a.M., pp. 205-306.—*Ed.*

> divided into two great camps, according to the way in which they have answered this question. Those who declare that spirit existed before nature, and who, in the last analysis, therefore, assume in one way or another that the world was created . . . have formed the idealist camp. The others, who regard nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism.*

Any other use (in a philosophic sense) of the terms idealism and materialism is only confusing. Marx decidedly rejected not only idealism, always connected in one way or another with religion, but also the views of Hume and Kant, that are especially widespread in our day, as well as agnosticism, criticism, positivism in various forms; he considered such philosophy as a "reactionary" concession to idealism, at best as a "shamefaced manner of admitting materialism through the back door while denying it before the world." ** (On this question see, besides the above-mentioned works of Engels and Marx, a letter of Marx to Engels, dated December 12, 1866, in which Marx, taking cognisance of an utterance of the well-known naturalist, T. Huxley, who "in a more materialistic spirit than he has manifested in recent years" declared that "as long as we actually observe and think, we cannot get away from materialism," reproaches him for once more leaving a new "back door" open to agnosticism and Humeism.) It is especially important that we should note Marx's opinion concerning the relation between freedom and necessity: "Freedom is the recognition of necessity. Necessity is blind only in so far as it is not understood" (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*).*** This means acknowledgment of the objective reign of law in nature and of the dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom (at the same time, an acknowledgment of the transformation of the unknown but knowable "thing-in-itself" into the "thing-for-us," of the "essence of things" into "phenomena"). Marx and Engels pointed out the following major shortcomings of the "old" materialism, including Feuerbach's (and, *a fortiori*, the "vulgar" materialism of Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott): (1) it was "predominantly mechanical," not taking into account the latest developments of chemistry and biology (in our day it would be necessary to add the electric theory of matter); (2) it was non-historical, non-dialectical (was metaphysical, in the sense of being anti-dialectical), and did not apply the standpoint of evolution consistently and all-sidedly; (3) it regarded "human nature" abstractly, and not as a "synthesis" of (definite, concrete-historical) "social relationships"—and thus only "interpreted" the world, whereas it was a question of "changing" it, that is, it did not grasp the significance of "practical revolutionary activity."

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* *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Berlin, 1927, p. 27 *ff*.—*Ed.*

** *Ibid.*, p. 30.—*Ed.*

*** P. 112.—*Ed.*

DIALECTICS

Marx and Engels regarded Hegelian dialectics, the theory of evolution most comprehensive, rich in content and profound, as the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy. All other formulations of the principle of development, of evolution, they considered to be one-sided, poor in content, distorting and mutilating the actual course of development of nature and society (a course often consummated in leaps and bounds, catastrophes, revolutions).

> Marx and I were almost the only persons who rescued conscious dialectics . . [from the swamp of idealism, including Hegelianism] by transforming it into the materialist conception of nature. . . .* Nature is the test of dialectics, and we must say that science has supplied a vast and daily increasing mass of material for this test, thereby proving that, in the last analysis, nature proceeds dialectically and not metaphysically ** [this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.].

Again, Engels writes:

> The great basic idea that the world is not to be viewed as a complex of fully fashioned objects, but as a complex of processes, in which apparently stable objects, no less than the images of them inside our heads (our concepts), are undergoing incessant changes, arising here and disappearing there, and which with all apparent accident and in spite of all momentary retrogression, ultimately constitutes a progressive development—this great basic idea has, particularly since the time of Hegel, so deeply penetrated the general consciousness that hardly any one will now venture to dispute it in its general form. But it is one thing to accept it in words, quite another thing to put it in practice on every occasion and in every field of investigation.***
>
> In the eyes of dialectic philosophy, nothing is established for all time, nothing is absolute or sacred. On everything and in everything it sees the stamp of inevitable decline; nothing can resist it save the unceasing process of formation and destruction, the unending ascent from the lower to the higher—a process of which that philosophy itself is only a simple reflection within the thinking brain.****

Thus dialectics, according to Marx, is "the science of the general laws of motion both of the external world and of human thinking."*****

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* *Anti-Dühring*, p. xiv.—*Ed.*

** *Ibid.*, p. 8.—*Ed.*

*** *Ludwig Feuerbach*, p. 52.—*Ed.*

**** *Ibid.*, p. 18.—*Ed.*

***** *Ibid.*, p. 51.—*Ed.*

This revolutionary side of Hegel's philosophy was adopted and developed by Marx. Dialectical materialism "does not need any philosophy towering above the other sciences." * Of former philosophies there remain "the science of thinking and its laws—formal logic and dialectics." ** Dialectics, as the term is used by Marx in conformity with Hegel, includes what is now called the theory of cognition, or epistemology, or gnoseology, a science that must contemplate its subject matter in the same way—historically, studying and generalising the origin and development of cognition, the transition from *non*-consciousness to consciousness. In our times, the idea of development, of evolution, has almost fully penetrated social consciousness, but it has done so in other ways, not through Hegel's philosophy. Still, the same idea, as formulated by Marx and Engels on the basis of Hegel's philosophy, is much more comprehensive, much more abundant in content than the current theory of evolution. A development that repeats, as it were, the stages already passed, but repeats them in a different way, on a higher plane ("negation of negation"); a development, so to speak, in spirals, not in a straight line; a development in leaps and bounds, catastrophes, revolutions; "intervals of gradualness"; transformation of quantity into quality; inner impulses for development, imparted by the contradiction, the conflict of different forces and tendencies reacting on a given body or inside a given phenomenon or within a given society; interdependence, and the closest, indissoluble connection between *all* sides of every phenomenon (history disclosing ever new sides), a connection that provides the one world-process of motion proceeding according to law—such are some of the features of dialectics as a doctrine of evolution more full of meaning than the current one. (See letter of Marx to Engels, dated January 8, 1868, in which he ridicules Stein's "wooden trichotomies," which it is absurd to confuse with materialist dialectics.)

MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

Realising the inconsistency, the incompleteness, and the one-sidedness of the old materialism, Marx became convinced that it was necessary "to harmonise the science of society with the materialist basis, and to reconstruct it in accordance with this basis." *** If, speaking generally, materialism explains consciousness as the outcome of existence, and not conversely, then, applied to the social life of mankind, materialism must explain *social* consciousness as the outcome of *social* existence. "Technology," writes Marx in the first volume of *Capital*, "reveals man's dealings with nature, discloses the direct productive activities of his life, thus throwing light upon social relations and the resultant mental conceptions." * In the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* ** Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history, in the following words:

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* *Anti-Dühring*, p. 11.—*Ed.*

** *Ibid.*—*Ed.*

*** *Ludwig Feuerbach*, p. 36.—*Ed.*

> In the social production of the means of life, human beings enter into definite and necessary relations which are independent of their will—production relations which correspond to a definite stage of the development of their productive forces. The totality of these production relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which a legal and political superstructure arises and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of the material means of life determines, in general, the social, political, and intellectual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of human beings that determines their existence, but, conversely, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing production relationships, or, what is but a legal expression for the same thing, with the property relationships within which they have hitherto moved. From forms of development of the productive forces, these relationships turn into their fetters. A period of social revolution then begins. With the change in the economic foundation, the whole gigantic superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations we must always distinguish between the material changes in the economic conditions of production, changes which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophic, in short, ideological forms, in which human beings become conscious of this conflict and fight it out to an issue.
>
> Just as little as we judge an individual by what he thinks of himself, just so little can we appraise such a revolutionary epoch in accordance with its own consciousness of itself. On the contrary, we have to explain this consciousness as the outcome of the contradictions of material life, of the conflict existing between social productive forces and production relationships. . . . In broad outline we can designate the Asiatic, the classical, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois forms of production as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society.*** [Compare Marx's brief formulation in a letter to Engels, dated July 7, 1866: "Our theory about the organisation of labour being determined by the means of production."]

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* *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 393.—*Ed.*

** Chicago, 1904.—*Ed.*

*** Pp. 11-13.—*Ed.*

The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or, more correctly, the consistent extension of materialism to the domain of social phenomena, obviated the two chief defects in earlier historical theories. For, in the first place, those theories, at best, examined only the ideological motives of the historical activity of human beings without investigating the origin of these ideological motives, or grasping the objective conformity to law in the development of the system of social relationships, or discerning the roots of these social relationships in the degree of development of material production. In the second place, the earlier historical theories ignored the activities of the *masses*, whereas historical materialism first made it possible to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses and the changes in these conditions. At best, pre-Marxist "sociology" and historiography gave an accumulation of raw facts collected at random, and a description of separate sides of the historic process. Examining the *totality* of all the opposing tendencies, reducing them to precisely definable conditions in the mode of life and the method of production of the various *classes* of society, discarding subjectivism and free will in the choice of various "leading" ideas or in their interpretation, showing how all the ideas and all the various tendencies, without exception, have their roots in the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism pointed the way to a comprehensive, an all-embracing study of the rise, development, and decay of socio-economic structures. People make their own history; but what determines their motives, that is, the motives of people in the mass; what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and endeavours; what is the sum total of all these clashes among the whole mass of human societies; what are the objective conditions for the production of the material means of life that form the basis of all the historical activity of man; what is the law of the development of these conditions—to all these matters Marx directed attention, pointing out the way to a scientific study of history as a unified and true-to-law process despite its being extremely variegated and contradictory.

CLASS STRUGGLE

That in any given society the strivings of some of the members conflict with the strivings of others; that social life is full of contradictions; that history discloses to us a struggle among peoples and societies, and also within each nation and each society, manifesting in addition an alternation between periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline—these facts are generally known. Marxism provides a clue which enables us to discover the reign of law in this seeming labyrinth and chaos: the theory of the class struggle. Nothing but the study of the totality of the strivings of all the members of a given society, or group of societies, can lead to the scientific definition of the result of these strivings. Now, the conflict of strivings arises from differences in the situation and modes of life of the *classes* into which society is divided.

> The history of all human society, past and present [wrote Marx in 1848, in the *Communist Manifesto;* except the history of the primitive community, Engels added], has been the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, baron and serf, guild-burgess and journeyman—in a word, oppressor and oppressed—stood in sharp opposition each to the other. They carried on perpetual warfare, sometimes masked, sometimes open and acknowledged; a warfare that invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society or else in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . . Modern bourgeois society, rising out of the ruins of feudal society, did not make an end of class antagonisms. It merely set up new classes in place of the old; new conditions of oppression; new embodiments of struggle. Our own age, the bourgeois age, is distinguished by this —that it has simplified class antagonisms. More and more, society is splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly contraposed classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat.

Since the time of the great French Revolution, the class struggle as the actual motive force of events has been most clearly manifest in all European history. During the Restoration period in France, there were already a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, Thiers) who, generalising events, could not but recognise in the class struggle the key to the understanding of all the history of France. In the modern age—the epoch of the complete victory of the bourgeoisie, of representative institutions, of extended (if not universal) suffrage, of cheap daily newspapers widely circulated among the masses, etc., of powerful and ever-expanding organisations of workers and employers, etc.—the class struggle (though sometimes in a highly one-sided, "peaceful," "constitutional" form), has shown itself still more obviously to be the mainspring of events. The following passage from Marx's *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx demanded of social sciences as regards an objective analysis of the situation of every class in modern society as well as an analysis of the conditions of development of every class.

> Among all the classes that confront the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary. Other classes decay and perish with the rise of large-scale industry, but the proletariat is the most characteristic product of that industry. The lower middle class—small manufacturers, small traders, handicraftsmen, peasant proprietors—one and all fight the bourgeoisie in the hope of safeguarding their existence as sections of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they are trying to make the wheels of history turn backwards. If they ever become revolutionary, it is only because they are afraid of slipping down into the ranks of the proletariat; they are not defending their present interests, but their future interests; they are forsaking their own standpoint, in order to adopt that of the proletariat.

In a number of historical works (see Bibliography), Marx gave brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, an analysis of the position of *each* separate class, and sometimes of that of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how "every class struggle is a political struggle." The above quoted passage is an illustration of what a complex network of social relations and *transitional stages* between one class and another, between the past and the future, Marx analyses in order to arrive at the resultant of the whole historical development.

Marx's economic doctrine is the most profound, the most many-sided, and the most detailed confirmation and application of his teaching.

MARX'S ECONOMIC DOCTRINE

"It is the ultimate aim of this work to reveal the economic law of motion of modern society" (that is to say, capitalist, bourgeois society), writes Marx in the preface to the first volume of *Capital*. The study of the production relationships in a given, historically determinate society, in their genesis, their development, and their decay—such is the content of Marx's economic teaching. In capitalist society the dominant feature is the production of *commodities*, and Marx's analysis therefore begins with an analysis of commodity.

VALUE

A commodity is, firstly, something that satisfies a human need; and, secondly, it is something that is exchanged for something else. The utility of a thing gives it *use-value*. Exchange-value (or simply, value) presents itself first of all as the proportion, the ratio, in which a certain number of use-values of one kind are exchanged for a certain number of use-values of another kind. Daily experience shows us that by millions upon millions of such exchanges, all and sundry use-values, in themselves very different and not comparable one with another, are equated to one another. Now, what is common in these various things which are constantly weighed one against another in a definite system of social relationships? That which is common to them is that they are *products of labour.* In exchanging products, people equate to one another most diverse kinds of labour. The production of commodities is a system of social relationships in which different producers produce various products (the social division of labour), and in which all these products are equated to one another in exchange. Consequently, the element common to all commodities is not concrete labour in a definite branch of production, not labour of one particular kind, but *abstract* human labour—human labour in general. All the labour power of a given society, represented in the sum total of values of all commodities, is one and the same human labour power. Millions upon millions of acts of exchange prove this. Consequently, each particular commodity represents only a certain part of *socially necessary* labour time. The magnitude of the value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour, or by the labour time that is socially requisite for the production of the given commodity, of the given use-value. ". . . Exchanging labour products of different kinds one for another, they equate the values of the exchanged products; and in doing so they equate the different kinds of labour expended in production, treating them as homogeneous human labour. They do not know that they are doing this, but they do it." * As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relationship between two persons, only he should have added that it is a relationship hidden beneath a material wrapping.** We can only understand what value is when we consider it from the point of view of a system of social production relationships in one particular historical type of society; and, moreover, of relationships which present themselves in a mass form, the phenomenon of exchange repeating itself millions upon millions of times. "As values, all commodities are only definite quantities of congealed labour time." * Having made a detailed analysis of the twofold character of the labour incorporated in commodities, Marx goes on to analyse the *form of value and of money.* His main task, then, is to study the *origin* of the money form of value, to study the *historical process* of the development of exchange, beginning with isolated and casual acts of exchange ("simple, isolated, or casual value form," in which a given quantity of one commodity is exchanged for a given quantity of another), passing on to the universal form of value, in which a number of different commodities are exchanged for one and the same particular commodity, and ending with the money form of value, when gold becomes this particular commodity, the universal equivalent. Being the highest product of the development of exchange and of commodity production, money masks the social character of individual labour, and hides the social tie between the various producers who come together in the market. Marx analyses in great detail the various functions of money; and it is essential to note that here (as generally in the opening chapters of *Capital*) what appears to be an abstract and at times purely deductive mode of exposition in reality reproduces a gigantic collection of facts concerning the history of the development of exchange and commodity production.

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* *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 47.—*Ed.*

** *Ibid.—Ed.*

> Money . . . presupposes a definite level of commodity exchange. The various forms of money (simple commodity equivalent or means of circulation, or means of payment, treasure, or international money) indicate, according to the different extent to which this or that function is put into application, and according to the comparative predominance of one or other of them, very different grades of the social process of production. [*Capital,* Vol. I.] **

SURPLUS VALUE

At a particular stage in the development of commodity production, money becomes transformed into capital. The formula of commodity circulation was C-M-C (commodity—money—commodity); the sale of one commodity for the purpose of buying another. But the general formula of capital, on the contrary, is M-C-M (money—commodity—money); purchase for the purpose of selling—at a profit. The designation "surplus value" is given by Marx to the increase over the original value of money that is put into circulation. The fact of this "growth" of money in capitalist society is well known. Indeed, it is this "growth" which transforms money into *capital,* as a special, historically defined, social relationship of production. Surplus value cannot arise out of the circulation of commodities, for this represents nothing more than the exchange of equivalents; it cannot arise out of an advance in prices, for the mutual losses and gains of buyers and sellers would equalise one another; and we are concerned here, not with what happens to individuals, but with a mass or average or social phenomenon. In order that he may be able to receive surplus value, "Moneybags must . . . find in the market a commodity whose use-value has the peculiar quality of being a source of value" *—a commodity, the actual process of whose use is at the same time the process of the creation of value. Such a commodity exists. It is human labour power. Its use is labour, and labour creates value. The owner of money buys labour power at its value, which is determined, like the value of every other commodity, by the socially necessary labour time requisite for its production (that is to say, the cost of maintaining the worker and his family). Having bought labour power, the owner of money is entitled to use it, that is to set it to work for the whole day—twelve hours, let us suppose. Meanwhile, in the course of six hours ("necessary" labour time) the labourer produces sufficient to pay back the cost of his own maintenance; and in the course of the next six hours ("surplus" labour time), he produces a "surplus" product for which the capitalist does not pay him—surplus product or surplus value. In capital, therefore, from the viewpoint of the process of production, we have to distinguish, between two parts: first, constant capital, expended for the means of production (machinery, tools, raw materials, etc.), the value of this being (all at once or part by part) transferred, unchanged, to the finished product; and, secondly, variable capital, expended for labour power. The value of this latter capital is not constant, but grows in the labour process, creating surplus value. To express the degree of exploitation of labour power by capital, we must therefore compare the surplus value, not with the whole capital, but only with the variable capital. Thus, in the example just given, the rate of surplus value, as Marx calls this relationship, will be 6:6, *i.e.,* 100%.

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* *Critique of Political Economy,* p. 24.—*Ed.*

** P. 157.—*Ed.*

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* *Capital,* Vol. I, p. 154.—*Ed.*

There are two historical prerequisites to the genesis of capital: first, accumulation of a considerable sum of money in the hands of individuals living under conditions in which there is a comparatively high development of commodity production. Second, the existence of workers who are "free" in a double sense of the term: free from any constraint or restriction as regards the sale of their labour power; free from any bondage to the soil or to the means of production in general—*i.e.*, of propertyless workers, of "proletarians" who cannot maintain their existence except by the sale of their labour power.

There are two fundamental ways in which surplus value can be increased: by an increase in the working day ("absolute surplus value"); and by a reduction in the necessary working day ("relative surplus value"). Analysing the former method, Marx gives an impressive picture of the struggle of the working class for shorter hours and of governmental interference, first (from the fourteenth century to the seventeenth) in order to lengthen the working day, and subsequently (factory legislation of the nineteenth century) to shorten it. Since the appearance of *Capital,* the history of the working-class movement in all lands provides a wealth of new facts to amplify this picture.

Analysing the production of relative surplus value, Marx investigates the three fundamental historical stages of the process whereby capitalism has increased the productivity of labour: (1) simple cooperation; (2) division of labour, and manufacture; (3) machinery and large-scale industry. How profoundly Marx has here revealed the basic and typical features of capitalist development is shown by the fact that investigations of the so-called "kustar" industry * of Russia furnish abundant material for the illustration of the first two of these stages. The revolutionising effect of large-scale machine industry, described by Marx in 1867, has become evident in a number of "new" countries, such as Russia, Japan, etc., in the course of the last fifty years.

But to continue. Of extreme importance and originality is Marx's analysis of the *accumulation of capital,* that is to say, the transformation of a portion of surplus value into capital and the applying of this portion to additional production, instead of using it to supply the personal needs or to gratify the whims of the capitalist.

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* Small-scale home industry of a predominantly handicraft nature.—*Ed.*

Marx pointed out the mistake made by earlier classical political economy (from Adam Smith on), which assumed that all the surplus value which was transformed into capital became variable captial. In actual fact, it is divided into *means of production* plus variable capital. The more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital in the sum total of capital is of immense importance in the process of development of capitalism and in that of the transformation of capitalism into Socialism.

The accumulation of capital, accelerating the replacement of workers by machinery, creating wealth at the one pole and poverty at the other, gives birth to the so-called "reserve army of labour," to a "relative overabundance" of workers or to "capitalist overpopulation." This assumes the most diversified forms, and gives capital the possibility of expanding production at an exceptionally rapid rate. This possibility, in conjunction with enhanced facilities for credit and with the accumulation of capital in the means of production, furnishes, among other things, the key to the understanding of the *crises* of overproduction that occur periodically in capitalist countries—first about every ten years, on an average, but subsequently in a more continuous form and with a less definite periodicity. From accumulation of capital upon a capitalist foundation we must distinguish the so-called "primitive accumulation": the forcible severance of the worker from the means of production, the driving of the peasants off the land, the stealing of the communal lands, the system of colonies and national debts, of protective tariffs, and the like. "Primitive accumulation" creates, at one pole, the "free" proletarian: at the other, the owner of money, the capitalist.

The *"historical tendency of capitalist accumulation"* is described by Marx in the following well-known terms:

> The expropriation of the immediate producers is effected with ruthless vandalism, and under the stimulus of the most infamous, the basest, the meanest, and the most odious of passions. Self-earned private property [of the peasant and the handicraftsman], the private property that may be looked upon as grounded on a coalescence of the isolated, individual, and independent worker with his working conditions, is supplemented by capitalist private property, which is maintained by the exploitation of others' labour, but of labour which in a formal sense is free. . . . What has now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working on his own account, but the capitalist who exploits many labourers. This expropriation is brought about by the operation of the immanent laws of capitalist production, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist lays a number of his fellow capitalists low. Hand in hand with this

> centralisation, concomitantly with the expropriation of many capitalists by a few, the co-operative form of the labour process develops to an ever-increasing degree; therewith we find a growing tendency towards the purposive application of science to the improvement of technique; the land is more methodically cultivated; the instruments of labour tend to assume forms which are only utilisable by combined effort; the means of production are economised through being turned to account only by joint, by social labour; all the peoples of the world are enmeshed in the net of the world market, and therefore the capitalist régime tends more and more to assume an international character. While there is thus a progressive diminution in the number of the capitalist magnates (who usurp and monopolise all the advantages of this transformative process), there occurs a corresponding increase in the mass of poverty, oppression, enslavement, degeneration, and exploitation; but at the same time there is a steady intensification of the wrath of the working class—a class which grows ever more numerous, and is disciplined, unified, and organised by the very mechanism of the capitalist method of production. Capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter upon the method of production which has flourished with it and under it. The centralisation of the means of production and the socialisation of labour reach a point where they prove incompatible with their capitalist husk. This bursts asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated. [*Capital*, Vol. I.] *

Of great importance and quite new is Marx's analysis, in the second volume of *Capital*, of the reproduction of social capital, taken as a whole. Here, too, Marx is dealing, not with an individual phenomenon, but with a mass phenomenon; not with a fractional part of the economy of society, but with economy as a whole. Having corrected the above-mentioned mistake of the classical economists, Marx divides the whole of social production into two great sections: production of the means of production, and production of articles for consumption. Using figures for an example, he makes a detailed examination of the circulation of all social capital taken as a whole—both when it is reproduced in its previous proportions and when accumulation takes place. The third volume of *Capital* solves the problem of how the average rate of profit is formed on the basis of the law of value. An immense advance in economic science is this, that Marx conducts his analysis from the point of view of mass economic phenomena, of the aggregate of social economy, and not from the point of view of individual cases or upon the purely superficial aspects of competition—a limitation of view so often met with in vulgar political economy and in the contemporary "theory of marginal utility." First, Marx analyses the origin of surplus value, and then he goes on to consider its division into profit, interest, and ground-rent. Profit is the ratio between the surplus value and all the capital invested in an undertaking. Capital with a "high organic composition" (*i.e.*, with a preponderance of constant capital over variable capital to an extent above the social average) yields a below-average rate of profit; capital with a "low organic composition" yields an above-average rate of profit. Competition among the capitalists, who are free to transfer their capital from one branch of production to another, reduces the rate of profit in both cases to the average. The sum total of the values of all the commodities in a given society coincides with the sum total of the prices of all the commodities; but in separate undertakings, and in separate branches of production, as a result of competition, commodities are sold, not in accordance with their values, but in accordance with the *prices of production*, which are equal to the expended capital plus the average profit.

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* Pp. 845-846.—*Ed.*

In this way the well-known and indisputable fact of the divergence between prices and values and of the equalisation of profits is fully explained by Marx in conformity with the law of value; for the sum total of the values of all the commodities coincides with the sum total of all the prices. But the adjustment of value (a social matter) to price (an individual matter) does not proceed by a simple and direct way. It is an exceedingly complex affair. Naturally, therefore, in a society made up of separate producers of commodities, linked solely through the market, conformity to law can only be an average, a general manifestation, a mass phenomenon, with individual and mutually compensating deviations to one side and the other.

An increase in the productivity of labour means a more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. Inasmuch as surplus value is a function of variable capital alone, it is obvious that the rate of profit (the ratio of surplus value to the whole capital, and not to its variable part alone) has a tendency to fall. Marx makes a detailed analysis of this tendency and of the circumstances that incline to favour it or to counteract it. Without pausing to give an account of the extraordinarily interesting parts of the third volume of *Capital* that are devoted to the consideration of usurer's capital, commercial capital, and money capital, I shall turn to the most important subject of that volume, the theory of *ground-rent*. Due to the fact that the land area is limited, and that in capitalist countries it is all occupied by private owners, the production price of agricultural products is determined by the cost of production, not on soil of average quality, but on the worst soil, and by the cost of bringing goods to the market, not under average conditions, but under the worst conditions. The difference between this price and the price of production on better soil (or under better conditions) constitutes *differential* rent. Analysing this in detail, and showing how it arises out of variations in the fertility of the individual plots of land and in the extent to which capital is applied to the land, Marx fully exposes (see also the *Theorien über den Mehrwert* [*Theories of Surplus Value*],* in which the criticism of Rodbertus' theory deserves particular attention) the error of Ricardo, who considered that differential rent is only obtained when there is a continual transition from better to worse lands. Advances in agricultural technique, the growth of towns, and so on, may, on the contrary, act inversely, may transfer land from one category into the other; and the famous "law of diminishing returns," charging nature with the insufficiencies, limitations, and contradictions of capitalism, is a great mistake. Moreover, the equalisation of profit in all branches of industry and national economy in general, presupposes complete freedom of competition, the free mobility of capital from one branch to another. But the private ownership of land, creating monopoly, hinders this free mobility. Thanks to this monopoly, the products of agriculture, where a low organic composition of capital prevails, and, consequently, individually, a higher rate of profit can be secured, are not exposed to a perfectly free process of equalisation of the rate of profit. The landowner, being a monopolist, can keep the price of his produce above the average, and this monopoly price is the source of *absolute rent.* Differential rent cannot be done away with so long as capitalism exists; but absolute rent *can* be abolished even under capitalism—for instance, by nationalisation of the land, by making all the land state property. Nationalisation of the land would put an end to the monopoly of private landowners, with the result that free competition would be more consistently and fully applied in the domain of agriculture. That is why, as Marx states, in the course of history the radical bourgeois have again and again come out with this progressive bourgeois demand of land nationalisation, which, however, frightens away the majority of the bourgeoisie, for it touches upon another monopoly that is highly important and "touchy" in our days—the monopoly of the means of production in general. (In a letter to Engels, dated August 2, 1862, Marx gives a remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of his theory of average rate of profit and of absolute ground-rent. See *Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, pp. 77-81; also the letter of August 9, 1862, Vol. III, pp. 86-87). For the history of ground-rent it is also important to note Marx's analysis which shows how rent paid in labour service (when the peasant creates a surplus product by labouring on the lord's land) is transformed into rent paid in produce or rent in kind (the peasant creating a surplus product on his own land and handing this over to the lord of the soil under stress of "non-economic constraint"); then into monetary rent (which is the monetary equivalent of rent in kind, the *obrok* of old Russia, money having replaced produce thanks to the development of commodity production), and finally into capitalist rent, when the place of the peasant has been taken by the agricultural entrepreneur cultivating the soil with the help of wage labour. In connection with this analysis of the "genesis of capitalist ground-rent" must be noted Marx's profound ideas concerning the *evolution of capitalism in agriculture* (this is of especial importance in its bearing on backward countries, such as Russia).

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* Edited by Karl Kautsky, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1905.—*Ed.*

> The transformation of rent in kind into money rent is not only necessarily accompanied, but even anticipated by the formation of a class of propertyless day labourers, who hire themselves out for wages. During the period of their rise, when this new class appears but sporadically, the custom necessarily develops among the better situated tributary farmers of exploiting agricultural labourers for their own account, just as the wealthier serfs in feudal times used to employ serfs for their own benefit. In this way they gradually acquire the ability to accumulate a certain amount of wealth and to transform themselves even into future capitalists. The old self-employing possessors of the land thus gave rise among themselves to a nursery for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned upon the general development of capitalist production outside of the rural districts. [*Capital*, Vol. III.] *
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> The expropriation of part of the country folk, and the hunting of them off the land, does not merely "set free" the workers for the uses of industrial capital, together with their means of subsistence and the materials of their labour; in addition it creates the home market. [*Capital*, Vol. I.] **

The impoverishment and the ruin of the agricultural population lead, in their turn, to the formation of a reserve army of labour for capital. In every capitalist country, "part of the rural population is continually on the move, in course of transference to join the urban proletariat, the manufacturing proletariat. . . . (In this connection, the term "manufacture" is used to include all non-agricultural industry.) This source of a relative surplus population is, therefore, continually flowing. . . . The agricultural labourer, therefore, has his wages kept down to the minimum, and always has one foot in the swamp of pauperism" (*Capital*, Vol. I).* The peasant's private ownership of the land he tills constitutes the basis of small-scale production and causes the latter to flourish and attain its classical form. But such petty production is only compatible with a narrow and primitive type of production, with a narrow and primitive framework of society. Under capitalism, the exploitation of the peasants "differs from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat only in point of form. The exploiter is the same: capital. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasants through mortgages and usury, and the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through state taxation" (*Class Struggles in France*).** "Peasant agriculture, the smallholding system, is merely an expedient whereby the capitalist is enabled to extract profit, interest, and rent from the land, while leaving the peasant proprietor to pay himself his own wages as best he may." As a rule, the peasant hands over to the capitalist society, *i. e.*, to the capitalist class, part of the wages of his own labour, sinking "down to the level of the Irish tenant—all this on the pretext of being the owner of private property." *** Why is it that "the price of cereals is lower in countries with a predominance of small farmers than in countries with a capitalist method of production"? (*Capital*, Vol. III.) **** The answer is that the peasant presents part of his surplus product as a free gift to society (*i. e.*, to the capitalist class). "This lower price [of bread and other agricultural products] is also a result of the poverty of the producers and by no means of the productivity of their labour" (*Capital*, Vol. III).***** Peasant proprietorship, the smallholding system, which is the normal form of petty production, degenerates, withers, perishes under capitalism.

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* Chicago, 1909, p. 928.—*Ed.*

** P. 828.—*Ed.*

> Small peasants' property excludes by its very nature the development of the social powers of production of labour, the social forms of labour, the social concentration of capital, cattle raising on a large scale, and a progressive application of science. Usury and a system of taxation must impoverish it

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* P. 710.—*Ed.*

** New York, 1924, pp. 164-165.—*Ed.*

*** *Ibid.*, p. 163.—*Ed.*

**** P. 937.—*Ed.*

***** P. 937.—*Ed.*

> everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite dissipation of means of production and an isolation of the producers themselves go with it. [Co-operatives, *i. e.*, associations of small peasants, while playing an unusually progressive bourgeois role, only weaken this tendency without eliminating it; one must not forget besides, that these co-operatives do much for the well-to-do peasants and very little, almost nothing, for the mass of the poor peasants, also that the associations themselves become exploiters of wage labour]. Also an enormous waste of human energy. A progressive deterioration of the conditions of production and a raising of the price of means of production is a necessary law of small peasants' property. [*Capital*, Vol. III.] *

In agriculture as in industry, capitalism improves the production process only at the price of the "martyrdom of the producers."

> The dispersion of the rural workers over large areas breaks down their powers of resistance at the very time when concentration is increasing the powers of the urban operatives in this respect. In modern agriculture, as in urban industry, the increased productivity and the greater mobility of labour are purchased at the cost of devastating labour power and making it a prey to disease. Moreover, every advance in capitalist agriculture is an advance in the art, not only of robbing the worker, but also of robbing the soil. . . . Capitalist production, therefore, is only able to develop the technique and the combination of the social process of production by simultaneously undermining the foundations of all wealth—the land and the workers. [*Capital*, Vol. I.] **

SOCIALISM

From the foregoing it is manifest that Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the movement of contemporary society. The chief material foundation of the inevitability of the coming of Socialism is the socialisation of labour in its myriad forms, advancing ever more rapidly, and conspicuously so, throughout the half century that has elapsed since the death of Marx—being especially plain in the growth of large-scale production, of capitalist cartels, syndicates, and trusts; but also in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and the power of finance capital. The intellectual and moral driving force of this transformation is the proletariat, the physical carrier trained by capitalism itself. The contest of the proletariat with the bourgeosie, assuming various forms which grow continually richer in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle aiming at the conquest of political power by the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"). The socialisation of production cannot fail to lead to the transfer of the means of production into the possession of society, to the "expropriation of the expropriators." An immense increase in the productivity of labour; a reduction in working hours; replacement of the remnants, the ruins of petty, primitive, individual production by collective and perfected labour—such will be the direct consequences of this transformation. Capitalism breaks all ties between agriculture and industry; but at the same time, in the course of its highest development, it prepares new elements for the establishment of a connection between the two, uniting industry and agriculture upon the basis of the conscious use of science and the combination of collective labour, the redistribution of population (putting an end at one and the same time to rural seclusion and unsociability and savagery, and to the unnatural concentration of enormous masses of population in huge cities). A new kind of family life, changes in the position of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation, are being prepared by the highest forms of modern capitalism; the labour of women and children, the break-up of the patriarchal family by capitalism, necessarily assume in contemporary society the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms. Nevertheless,

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* Pp. 938-939.—*Ed.*

** Pp. 547-548.—*Ed.*

> . . . large-scale industry, by assigning to women and to young persons and children of both sexes a decisive role in the socially organised process of production, and a role which has to be fulfilled outside the home, is building the new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. I need hardly say that it is just as stupid to regard the Christo-Teutonic form of the family as absolute, as it is to take the same view of the classical Roman form or of the classical Greek form, or of the Oriental form—which, by the by, constitute an historically interconnected developmental series. It is plain, moreover, that the composition of the combined labour personnel out of individuals of both sexes and various ages—although in its spontaneously developed and brutal capitalist form (wherein the worker exists for the process of production instead of the process of production existing for the worker) it is a pestilential source of corruption and slavery—under suitable conditions cannot fail to be transformed into a source of human progress. [*Capital,* Vol. I.] *

In the factory system are to be found "the germs of the education of the future. . . . This will be an education which, in the case of every child over a certain age, will combine productive labour with instruction and physical culture, not only as a means for increasing social production, but as the only way of producing fully developed human beings" (*ibid.*, p. 522). Upon the same historical foundation, not with the sole idea of throwing light on the past, but with the idea of boldly foreseeing the future and boldly working to bring about its realisation, the Socialism of Marx propounds the problems of nationality and the state. The nation is a necessary product, an inevitable form, in the bourgeois epoch of social development. The working class cannot grow strong, cannot mature, cannot consolidate its forces, except by "establishing itself as the nation," except by being "national" ("though by no means in the bourgeois sense of the term").* But the development of capitalism tends more and more to break down the partitions that separate the nations one from another, does away with national isolation, substitutes class antagonisms for national antagonisms. In the more developed capitalist countries, therefore, it is perfectly true that "the workers have no fatherland," and that "united action" of the workers, in the civilised countries at least, "is one of the first conditions requisite for the emancipation of the workers" (*Communist Manifesto*). The state, which is organised oppression, came into being inevitably at a certain stage in the development of society, when this society had split into irreconcilable classes, and when it could not exist without an "authority" supposed to be standing above society and to some extent separated from it. Arising out of class contradictions, the state becomes

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* P. 529.—*Ed.*

> . . . the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class, and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses. The ancient state was therefore the state of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labour. [Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,*** a work in which the writer expounds his own views and Marx's.]

This condition of affairs persists even in the democratic republic, the freest and most progressive kind of bourgeois state; there is merely a change of form (the government becoming linked up with the stock exchange, and the officialdom and the press being corrupted by direct or indirect means). Socialism, putting an end to classes, will thereby put an end to the state.

> The first act, writes Engels in *Anti-Dühring*, whereby the state really becomes the representative of society as a whole, namely, the expropriation of the means of production for the benefit of society as a whole, will likewise be its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state authority

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* *Communist Manifesto.—Ed.*

** Chicago, 1902, pp. 208-209.—*Ed.*

> in social relationships will become superfluous, and will be discontinued in one domain after another. The government over persons will be transformed into the administration of things and the management of the process of production. The state will not be "abolished"; it will "die out." *

> The society that is to reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe. [Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State.***

If, finally, we wish to understand the attitude of Marxian Socialism towards the small peasantry, which will continue to exist in the period of the expropriation of the expropriators, we must turn to a declaration by Engels expressing Marx's views. In an article on "The Peasant Problem in France and Germany," which appeared in the *Neue Zeit,**** he says:

> When we are in possession of the powers of the state, we shall not even dream of forcibly expropriating the poorer peasants, the smallholders (with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in relation to the large landowners. Our task as regards the smallholders will first of all consist in transforming their individual production and individual ownership into co-operative production and co-operative ownership, not forcibly, but by way of example, and by offering social aid for this purpose. We shall then have the means of showing the peasant all the advantages of this change—advantages which even now should be obvious to him.

TACTICS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

Having discovered as early as 1844-1845 that one of the chief defects of the earlier materialism was its failure to understand the conditions or recognize the importance of practical revolutionary activity, Marx, during all his life, alongside of theoretical work, gave unremitting attention to the tactical problems of the class struggle of the proletariat. An immense amount of material bearing upon this is contained in all the works of Marx and in the four volumes of his correspondence with Engels (*Briefwechsel*), published in 1913. This material is still far from having been collected, organised, studied, and elaborated. This is why we shall have to confine ourselves to the most general and brief remarks, emphasising the point that Marx justly considered materialism without *this* side to be incomplete, one-sided, and devoid of vitality. The fundamental task of proletarian tactics was defined by Marx in strict conformity with the general principles of his materialist-dialectical outlook. Nothing but an objective account of the sum total of all the mutual relationships of all the classes of a given society without exception, and consequently an account of the objective stage of development of this society as well as an account of the mutual relationship between it and other societies, can serve as the basis for the correct tactics of the class that forms the vanguard. All classes and all countries are at the same time looked upon not statically, but dynamically; *i.e.*, not as motionless, but as in motion (the laws of their motion being determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). The motion, in its turn, is looked upon not only from the point of view of the past, but also from the point of view of the future; and, moreover, not only in accordance with the vulgar conception of the "evolutionists," who see only slow changes—but dialectically: "In such great developments, twenty years are but as one day—and then may come days which are the concentrated essence of twenty years," wrote Marx to Engels (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 127). At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of these objectively unavoidable dialectics of human history, utilising, on the one hand, the phases of political stagnation, when things are moving at a snail's pace along the road of the so-called "peaceful" development, to increase the class consciousness, strength, and fighting capacity of the most advanced class; on the other hand, conducting this work in the direction of the "final aims" of the movement of this class, cultivating in it the faculty for the practical performance of great tasks in great days that are the "concentrated essence of twenty years." Two of Marx's arguments are of especial importance in this connection: one of these is in the *Poverty of Philosophy*, and relates to the industrial struggle and to the industrial organisations of the proletariat; the other is in the *Communist Manifesto*, and relates to the proletariat's political tasks. The former runs as follows:

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* P. 302.—*Ed.*

** Pp. 211-212.—*Ed.*

*** Vol. XIII, 1, 1894, pp. 301-302. Lenin's reference is to p. 17 of the Russian translation of this article published by Alexeyeva. To this Lenin added the note: "Russian translation with errors."—*Ed.*

> The great industry masses together in a single place a crowd of people unknown to each other. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of their wages, this common interest which they have against their employer, unites them in the same idea of resistance—combination. . . . The combinations, at first isolated, . . . [form into] groups, and, in face of constantly united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more important and necessary for them than the maintenance of wages. . . . In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements

necessary for a future battle. Once arrived at that point, association takes a political character.*

Here we have the programme and the tactics of the economic struggle and the trade union movement for several decades to come, for the whole long period in which the workers are preparing for "a future battle." We must place side by side with this a number of Marx's references, in his correspondence with Engels, to the example of the British labour movement; here Marx shows how, industry being in a flourishing condition, attempts are made "to buy the workers" (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 136), to distract them from the struggle; how, generally speaking, prolonged prosperity "demoralises the workers" (Vol. II, p. 218); how the British proletariat is becoming "bourgeoisified"; how "the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations seems to be to establish a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat side by side with the bourgeoisie" (Vol. II, p. 290); how the "revolutionary energy" of the British proletariat oozes away (Vol. III, p. 124); how it will be necessary to wait for a considerable time "before the British workers can rid themselves of seeming bourgeois contamination" (Vol. III, p. 127); how the British movement "lacks the mettle of the old Chartists" (1866: Vol. III, p. 305); how the English workers are developing leaders of "a type that is half way between the radical bourgeois and the worker" (Vol. IV, p. 209, on Holyoake); how due to British monopoly, and as long as that monopoly lasts, "the British worker will not budge" (Vol. IV, p. 433). The tactics of the economic struggle, in connection with the general course (and *the outcome*) of the working-class movement, are here considered from a remarkably broad, many-sided, dialectical, and genuinely revolutionary outlook.

On the tactics of the political struggle, the *Communist Manifesto* advanced this fundamental Marxian thesis: "Communists fight on behalf of the immediate aims and interests of the working class, but in their present movement they are also defending the future of that movement." That was why in 1848 Marx supported the Polish party of the "agrarian revolution"—"the party which initiated the Cracow insurrection in the year 1846." In Germany during 1848 and 1849 he supported the radical revolutionary democracy, nor subsequently did he retract what he had then said about tactics. He looked upon the German bourgeoisie as "inclined from the very beginning to betray the people" (only an alliance with the peasantry would have enabled the bourgeoisie completely to fulfil its tasks) "and to compromise with the crowned representatives of the old order of society." Here is Marx's summary account of the class position of the German bourgeoisie in the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—an analysis which, among other things, is an example of materialism, contemplating society in motion, and not looking only at that part of the motion which is directed *backwards.*

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* *The Poverty of Philosophy*, Chicago, p. 188.—*Ed.*

> Lacking faith in themselves, lacking faith in the people; grumbling at those above, and trembling in face of those below . . . dreading a world-wide storm . . . nowhere with energy, everywhere with plagiarism . . . ; without initiative . . . —a miserable old man, doomed to guide in his own senile interests the first youthful impulses of a young and vigorous people. . . . [*Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* 1848; see *Literarischer Nachlass,* Vol. III, p. 213.]

About twenty years afterwards, writing to Engels under the date of February 11, 1865 (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. III, p. 224), Marx said that the cause of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 was that the bourgeoisie had preferred peace with slavery to the mere prospect of having to fight for freedom. When the revolutionary epoch of 1848-1849 was over, Marx was strongly opposed to any playing at revolution (Schapper and Willich, and the contest with them), insisting on the need for knowing how to work under the new conditions, when new revolutions were in the making—quasi-"peacefully." The spirit in which Marx wanted the work to be carried on is plainly shown by his estimate of the situation in Germany during the period of blackest reaction. In 1856 he wrote (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. II, p. 108): "The whole thing in Germany depends on whether it is possible to back the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the peasants' war." * As long as the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany was in progress, Marx directed his whole attention, in the matter of tactics of the Socialist proletariat, to developing the democratic energy of the peasantry. He held that Lassalle's action was "objectively a betrayal of the whole working-class movement to the Prussians (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. III, p. 210), among other things, because he "was rendering assistance to the junkers and to Prussian nationalism." On February 5, 1865, exchanging views with Marx regarding a forthcoming joint declaration of theirs in the press, Engels wrote (*Briefwechsel,* Vol. III, p. 217): "In a predominantly agricultural country it is base to confine oneself to attacks on the bourgeoisie exclusively in the name of the industrial proletariat, while forgetting to say even a word about the patriarchal 'whipping rod exploitation' of the rural proletariat by the big feudal nobility." During the period from 1864 to 1870, in which the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany was being completed, in which the exploiting classes of Prussia and Austria were fighting for this or that method of completing the revolution *from above*, Marx not only condemned Lassalle for coquetting with Bismarck, but also corrected Wilhelm Liebknecht who had lapsed into "Austrophilism" and defended particularism. Marx insisted upon revolutionary tactics that would fight against both Bismarck and "Austrophilism" with equal ruthlessness, tactics which would not only not suit the "conqueror," the Prussian junker, but would forthwith renew the struggle with him *upon the very basis* created by the Prussian military successes (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, pp. 134, 136, 147, 179, 204, 210, 215, 418, 437, 440-441). In the famous Address issued by the International Workingmen's Association, dated September 9, 1870, Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising; but when, in 1871, the uprising actually took place, Marx hailed the revolutionary initiative of the masses with the utmost enthusiasm, saying that they were "storming the heavens" (Letter of Marx to Kugelmann).* In this situation, as in so many others, the defeat of a revolutionary onslaught was, from the Marxian standpoint of dialectical materialism, from the point of view of the general course and *the outcome* of the proletarian struggle, a lesser evil than would have been a retreat from a position hitherto occupied, a surrender without striking a blow, as such a surrender would have demoralised the proletariat and undermined its readiness for struggle. Fully recognising the importance of using legal means of struggle during periods of political stagnation, and when bourgeois legality prevails, Marx, in 1877 and 1878, when the Exception Law against the Socialists had been passed in Germany, strongly condemned the "revolutionary phrase-making" of Most; but he attacked no less and perhaps even more sharply, the opportunism that, for a time, prevailed in the official Social-Democratic Party, which failed to manifest a spontaneous readiness to resist, to be firm, a revolutionary spirit, a readiness to resort to illegal struggle in reply to the Exception Law (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. IV, pp. 397, 404, 418, 422, and 424; also letters to Sorge).

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* This passage with the exception of the words "depends on whether it is possible" was written originally by Marx in English.—*Ed.*

* *Briefe an Kugelmann*, Berlin, Viva, 1927, letter dated April 12, 1871.—*Ed.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARXISM *

No complete collection of Marx's works and letters has yet been published.** More of Marx's works have been translated into Russian than into any other language. The following enumeration of Marx's writings is arranged chronologically. In 1841 Marx wrote his dissertation on Epicurus's philosophy. (It was included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*, of which more will be said later.) In this dissertation, Marx still completely followed the Hegelian idealist school. In 1842 were written Marx's articles in the *Rheinische Zeitung* (Cologne), among them a criticism of the free press debate in the Sixth Rhenish Diet, an article on the laws concerning the stealing of timber, another in defence of divorcing politics from theology, etc. (partly included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*). Here we observe signs of Marx's transition from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to Communism. In 1844, under the editorship of Marx and Arnold Ruge, there appeared in Paris the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in which this transition was definitely consummated. Among Marx's articles published in that magazine the most noteworthy are *A Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right* *** (published both in the *Literarischer Nachlass* and as a special pamphlet) and *On the Jewish Question* **** [likewise in the *Literarischer Nachlass;* issued as a pamphlet in Russian translation]. In 1845, Marx and Engels jointly published a pamphlet in Frankfort a. M., entitled *Die Heilige Familie: Gegen Bruno Bauer und Konsorten* (included in the *Literarischer Nachlass;* two Russian editions as pamphlets, St. Petersburg, 1906 and 1907). In the spring of 1845 Marx wrote his theses on Feuerbach (published as an appendix to Friedrich Engels' pamphlet entitled *Ludwig Feuerbach* (Russian translation available). In 1845-1847 Marx wrote a number of articles (most of which were not collected, republished, or translated into Russian) in the papers *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung* [*German Brussels Gazette*], Brussels, 1847; *Westphälisches Dampfboot* [*Westphalian Steamship*], Bielefeld, 1845-1848; *Gesellschaftsspiegel* [*Mirror of Society*], Elberfeld, 1846; and *La Réforme* [*Reform*], Paris, etc. In 1847 Marx wrote his fundamental work against Proudhon, *The Poverty of Philosophy*,* a reply to Proudhon's work *The Philosophy of Poverty.*** The book was published in Brussels and Paris (three Russian translations, 1905 and 1906). In 1848 there was published in Brussels the *Speech on Free Trade* *** (Russian translation available), then in London, in collaboration with Friedrich Engels, the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, translated into nearly all the European languages and into a number of other languages (about eight Russian translations, 1905 and 1906; these editions, most of which were confiscated, appeared under various titles: *Communist Manifesto, On Communism, Social Classes and Communism, Capitalism and Communism, Philosophy of History;* a complete and the most accurate translation of this as well as of other works of Marx will be found in the editions of the Liberation of Labour group issued abroad). From June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published in Cologne with Marx as the actual editor-in-chief. His numerous articles published in that paper, which to this very day remains the best and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat, have not been fully collected and reprinted. The most important of them were included in the *Literarischer Nachlass. Wage-Labour and Capital*, published in that paper, has been repeatedly issued as a pamphlet [four Russian translations, 1905 and 1906]; also from the same paper *Die Liberalen am Ruder* [*The Liberals at the Helm*] [St. Petersburg, 1906]. In 1849 Marx published in Cologne *Zwei Politische Prozesse* [*Two Political Trials*] —the text of two speeches delivered by Marx when facing trial on the charge of having violated the press law and having appealed to armed resistance against the government [Russian translations available in five editions, 1905 and 1906]. In 1850 Marx published in

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* In this bibliography, Lenin's references to various Russian editions of Marxian writings have been summarised and placed in brackets.—*Ed.*

** See second half of footnote on p. 15.—*Ed.*

*** Reprinted in English in *Selected Essays* by Karl Marx. Translated by H. J. Stenning. New York and London, 1926.—*Ed.*

**** *Ibid.—Ed.*

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* Written originally in French under the title *Misère de la Philosophie.—Ed.*

** *Philosophie de la Misère.—Ed.*

*** An address delivered before the Democratic Association of Brussels, January 9, 1848. New York, 1917.—*Ed.*

Hamburg six issues of the magazine *Neue Rheinische Zeitung;* the most important articles published in that magazine were later included in the *Literarischer Nachlass.* Especially noteworthy are Marx's articles republished by Engels in 1895 in a pamphlet entitled *Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* [three Russian translations, two of which were issued in St. Petersburg, 1906 and 1912]. In 1852 a pamphlet of Marx's was published in New York under the title, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* * [Russian translation available]. In the same year a pamphlet of Marx was published in London under the title *Enthüllungen über den Kommunistenprozess in Köln* [*Revelations about the Cologne Communist Trial*] [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906]. From August, 1851, until 1862, Marx was a steady contributor to the *New York Tribune,* where many of his articles appeared without signature, as editorials.** Most outstanding among these articles are those which were republished after the death of Marx and Engels in a German translation under the title, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* *** [two Russian translations available in collected works and five as pamphlets, 1905 and 1906]. Some of Marx's articles in the *Tribune* were later published in London as separate pamphlets, as, for instance, the one about Palmerston, published in 1856; *Revelations Concerning the Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century* (revealing the continuous slavish dependence of the English Liberal Ministers upon Russia); and others. After Marx's death, his daughter, Eleanor Aveling, published a number of his *Tribune* articles on the Oriental question as a separate book entitled *The Eastern Question,***** London, 1897 [partly translated into Russian, Kharkov, 1919].***** From the end of 1854 and during 1855

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* Published first by Joseph Weydemeyer in his magazine, *Die Revolution,* New York, 1852.—*Ed.*

** Engels in his article on Marx in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften,* Vol, VI, p. 603, and Bernstein in his article on Marx in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* 1911, erroneously give the dates 1853-1860. See *Briefwechsel* of Marx and Engels.

*** The publication of the correspondence between Marx and Engels in 1913 revealed that these articles were written by Engels with Marx's co-operation.—*Ed.*

**** Many of the articles reproduced in this volume are not by Marx, having been erroneously attributed to him by his daughter.—*Ed.*

***** In the article as originally published, Lenin stated that this work was "not translated into Russian." In revising the article at a later date, he called attention to the above partial translation. Similar references to later editions will be found elsewhere in this bibliography.—*Ed.*

Marx contributed to the paper *Neue Oder-Zeitung* [*New Oder Gazette*], and in 1861-1862 to the Viennese paper *Presse* [*Press*]. Those articles have not been collected, and only a few of them were reprinted in the *Neue Zeit*, as was also the case with Marx's numerous letters. The same is true about Marx's articles from *Das Volk* [*People*], (London, 1859) concerning the diplomatic history of the Italian War of 1859. In 1859 a book by Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, appeared in Berlin [Russian translations, Moscow, 1896; St. Petersburg, 1907]. In 1860 a book by Marx entitled *Herr Vogt* appeared in London.

In 1864 the *Address of the International Workingmen's Association*,* written by Marx, appeared in London (Russian translation available). Marx was the author of numerous manifestoes, appeals and resolutions of the General Council of the International. This material is far from having been analysed or even collected. The first approach to this work is G. Jaeck's book, *Die Internationale* [*The International*] ** [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906], where, among others, several of Marx's letters and draft resolutions are reproduced. Among the documents of the International that were written by Marx is the Address of the General Council concerning the Paris Commune. The document appeared in 1871 in London in pamphlet form under the title *The Civil War in France* [Russian translations, one edited by Lenin, available]. Between 1862 and 1874 Marx exchanged letters with a member of the International, Kugelmann; this correspondence was later published in a separate edition [two Russian translations, one edited by Lenin]. In 1867 Marx's main work, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. I, appeared in Hamburg. The second and third volumes were published by Engels in 1885 and 1894, after the death of Marx [Russian translations: Vol. I, in five editions; Vols. II and III each in two editions]. In 1876 Marx participated in the writing of Engels' *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwälzung der Wissenschaft* (*Anti-Dühring*); ***

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* Generally known as the *Inaugural Address*, since it was delivered at the formal establishment of the First International.—*Ed.*

** Leipzig, 1904.—*Ed.*

*** An abridged edition of *Anti-Dühring* was published in English under the title *Landmarks of Scientific Socialism*, Chicago, 1907. Marx's chapter on the history of political economy was excluded from this edition. Part of *Anti-Dühring* was published in an enlarged form as a separate pamphlet in English under the title *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Chicago, 1900.—*Ed.*

he went over the manuscript of the whole work and wrote an entire chapter dealing with the history of political economy.

After Marx's death, the following works of his were published: *The Gotha Program* * (published in the *Neue Zeit*, 1890-1891, No. 18; in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906); *Value, Price and Profit*—a lecture delivered ** on June 26, 1865 (republished in the *Neue Zeit*, XVI, 2, 1897-1898; Russian translations, 1905 and 1906); *Aus dem Literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle*, three volumes, Stuttgart, 1902 [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1907 and 1908; the letters of Lassalle to Marx, published separately, are included in the *Literarischer Nachlass*]; *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von J. Ph. Becker, J. Dietzgen, K. Marx, F. Engels, u. A., an F. A. Sorge und Andere* [*Letters and Excerpts from Letters from J. Ph. Becker, J. Dietzgen, K. Marx, F. Engels and Others to F. A. Sorge and Others*] *** [two Russian editions; one translation with a foreword by Lenin]; *Theorien über den Mehrwert*, three volumes in four parts, Stuttgart, 1905-1910, representing the manuscript of the fourth volume of *Capital* and published by Kautsky [only the first volume translated into Russian; in three editions; St. Petersburg, 1906; Kiev, 1906 and 1907]. In 1913 four large volumes of the *Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx* appeared in Stuttgart, with 1,386 letters written during the period from September, 1844, to January 10, 1883, and offering a mass of material that is highly valuable for the study of Marx's biography and views. In 1917, two volumes of Marx's and Engels' articles of 1852-1862 appeared in German.**** This list of Marx's works must be concluded with a remark that many of Marx's smaller articles and letters published, for the most part, in the *Neue Zeit*, the *Vorwärts* [*Forward*], and other Social-Democratic periodicals in the German language, have not been enumerated here. Neither can the list of Russian translations pretend to be complete.

The literature on Marx and Marxism is very extensive. Only the most outstanding will be noted here, the authors being divided into three main groups: Marxists, in the main assuming the point of view of Marx; bourgeois writers, in the main hostile to Marxism; and revisionists, who, claiming to accept some fundamentals of Marxism, in reality substitute for it bourgeois conceptions. As a peculiar Russian species of revisionism, the Narodnik attitude toward Marx must be mentioned. Werner Sombart, in his "Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie des Marxismus" ["A Contribution to the Bibliography of Marxism"] (published in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* [*Archive for Social Science and Social Politics*], XX, Book 2, 1905, pp. 413-430), gives some three hundred titles in a list that is far from complete. More can be found in the indices to the *Neue Zeit*, 1883-1907 and the following years, also in Joseph Stammhammer's *Bibliographie des Sozialismus und Kommunismus* [*Bibliography of Socialism and Communism*], Vols. I-III, Jena, 1893-1909. For a detailed bibliography of Marxism see also *Bibliographie der Sozialwissenschaften* [*Bibliography of the Social Sciences*], Berlin, 1905, and the following years. See also N. A. Rubakin, *Among Books* [in Russian], Vol. II. We mention here only the most essential bibliographies. On the subject of Marx's biography, attention must be called first of all to Friedrich Engels' articles in the *Volkskalender* [*People's Calendar*] published by Bracke in Braunschweig in 1878 and in the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* [*Dictionary of the Political Sciences*], Vol. VI, pp. 600-603. Other works on this subject are: Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs*, Nuremberg, 1896; [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1906; * Lafargue, *Personal Recollections of Karl Marx* (*Neue Zeit*, IX, 1) [in Russian translation], Odessa, 1905; ** *Karl Marx: In Memoriam*, St. Petersburg, 1908 (Russian collection of articles by J. Nevzorov, N. Rozhkov, V. Bazarov, J. Steklov, A. Finn-Yenotayevsky, P. Rumyantsev, K. Renner, H. Roland-Holst, V. Ilyin, R. Luxemburg, G. Zinoviev, J. Kamenev, P. Orlovsky, M. Tagansky); Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx*. A large biography of Marx written in English by the American Socialist, Spargo (John Spargo, *Karl Marx, His Life and Work*, London, 1911),*** is not satisfactory. For a general review of Marx's activities, see Karl Kautsky, *Die historische Leistung von Karl Marx. Zum 25. Todestag des*

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* New York, 1922.—*Ed.*

** In English.—*Ed.*

*** Stuttgart, 1906.—*Ed.*

**** *Gesammelte Schriften von K. Marx und F. Engels, 1852 bis 1862* [*Collected Writings of K. Marx and F. Engels, 1852 to 1862*], edited by N. Ryazanov, Berlin, 1917.—*Ed.*

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* Chicago, 1901.—*Ed.*

** Reprinted in English in *Karl Marx: Man, Thinker and Revolutionist.* A symposium edited by D. Ryazanov. New York and London, 1927.—*Ed.*

*** The original American edition was published in New York, 1909.—*Ed.*

Meisters [*The Historical Contribution of Karl Marx. On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Master's Death*], Berlin, 1908 [Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1908]; also a popular pamphlet by Clara Zetkin, *Karl Marx und sein Lebenswerk* [*Karl Marx and His Life Work*], 1913. Reminiscences of Marx: those by Annenkov in the *Vestnik Evropy* [*European Messenger*], 1880, No. 4; (also in his *Reminiscences*, Vol. III; *A Remarkable Decade* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1882); those by Carl Schurz in the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* [*Russian Wealth*], 1906, No. 12; those by M. Kovalevsky in the *Vestnik Evropy*, 1909, No. 6, etc.

The best exposition of the philosophy of Marxism and of historical materialism is given by G. V. Plekhanov in his works [all in Russian]: *For Twenty Years*, St. Petersburg, 1909; *From Defence to Attack*, St. Petersburg, 1910; *Fundamental Problems of Marxism*, St. Petersburg, 1908; * *Critique of Our Critics*, St. Petersburg, 1906; *On the Question of Developing a Monistic Conception of History*, St. Petersburg, 1908; and others. [In Russian translation]: Antonio Labriola, *Essais sur la conception matérialiste de l'histoire*, St. Petersburg, 1898; ** also his *Historical Materialism and Philosophy*, St. Petersburg, 1906; Franz Mehring, *Ueber historischen Materialismus* [*On Historical Materialism*] [two editions, St. Petersburg, 1906], and *Die Lessinglegende* [*The Lessing Legend*] [St. Petersburg, 1908]; Charles Andler (non-Marxist), *Le manifeste communiste de Karl Marx et F. Engels*, St. Petersburg, 1906. See also *Historical Materialism*, St. Petersburg, 1908, a collection of articles by Engels, Kautsky, Lafargue, and many others [in Russian translation]; L. Axelrod, *Philosophical Sketches. A Reply to Philosophic Critics of Historical Materialism* [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1906. A special defence of Dietzgen's unsuccessful deviations from Marxism is contained in E. Untermann's book, *Die logischen Mängel des engeren Marxismus* [*The Logical Defects of Narrow Marxism*], Munich, 1910, 753 pages (a large but none too earnest book); Hugo Riekes, "Die philosophische Wurzel des Marxismus" ["The Philosophical Roots of Marxism"], in the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft* [*Journal of All Political Sciences*], 1906, Book III, pp. 407-432 (an interesting piece of work of an opponent of the Marxian views showing their philosophical unity from the point of view of materialism); Benno Erdmann, "Die philosophischen Voraussetzungen der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung" ["The Philosophic Assumptions of the Materialist Conception of History"], in the *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft* (*Schmoller's Jahrbuch*) [*Yearbook for Legislation, Administration and National Economy* (*Schmoller's Yearbook*)], 1907, Book III, pp. 1-56 (a compilation of the philosophical arguments against Marxism; a very useful formulation of some of the basic principles of Marx's philosophic materialism, and a compilation of the arguments against it from the current point of view of Kantianism and agnosticism in general); Rudolph Stammler (Kantian). *Wirtschaft und Recht nach der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung* [*Economy and Law According to the Materialist Conception of History*], Leipzig, 1906, Woltmann (also Kantian), *Historischer Materialismus* [*Historical Materialism*] (in Russian translation, 1901): Vorländer, *Kant und Marx* [*Kant and Marx*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1909. See also polemics between A. Bogdanov, V. Bazarov and others, on the one hand and V. Ilyin * on the other (the views of the former being contained in *Outline of Marxian Philosophy*, St. Petersburg, 1908, A. Bogdanov, *The Fall of the Great Fetishism*, Moscow, 1909, and other works; the views of the latter in his book, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, St. Petersburg, 1909 ** [all in Russian]. On the question of historical materialism and ethics, the outstanding books are: Karl Kautsky, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History*,*** [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1906, and numerous other works by Kautsky; Louis Boudin, *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism;* **** [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1908; Hermann Gorter, *Der historische Materialismus* [*Historical Materialism*], 1909. Of the works of the opponents of Marxism, we wish to point out Tugan-Baranovsky, *Theoretical Foundations of Marxism* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1907; S. Prokopovich, *Critique of Marx* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1901; Hammacher, *Das philosophisch-ökonomische System des Marxismus* [*The Philosophic-Economic System of*

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* English translation published in New York and London, 1929.—*Ed.*

** Chicago, 1904.—*Ed.*

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* One of Lenin's pen names.—*Ed.*

** Published in English as Volume XIII of Lenin's *Collected Works*.—*Ed.*

*** Chicago, 1913.—*Ed.*

**** Chicago, 1907.—*Ed.*

Marxism], Leipzig, 1910 (730 pp., collection of quotations); Werner Sombart, *Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung im XIX. Jahrhundert* [*Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg; Max Adler (Kantian), *Kausalität und Teleologie* [*Causality and Teleology*], Vienna, 1909, in *Marx-Studien* [*Marx Studies*], also *Marx als Denker* [*Marx as a Thinker*] by the same author.

The book of an Hegelian idealist, Giovanni Gentile, *La filosofia di Marx* [*The Philosophy of Marx*], Pisa, 1899, deserves attention. The author points out some important aspects of Marx's materialistic dialectics which ordinarily escape the attention of the Kantians, positivists, etc. Likewise: Levy, *Feuerbach*—a work about one of the main philosophic predecessors of Marx. A useful collection of quotations from a number of Marx's works is contained in Chernyshev's *Notebook of a Marxist* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1908. On Marx's economic doctrine, the outstanding books are the following: Karl Kautsky, *The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx* * (many Russian editions), *Die Agrarfrage* [*The Agrarian Question*], *Das Erfurter Programm*, and numerous pamphlets [all in Russian translation]; Eduard Bernstein, *Die ökonomische Lehre von Marx. Der III. Band des Kapital* [*The Economic Doctrine of Marx. The Third Volume of Capital*] (in Russian translation, 1905); Gabriel Deville, *Le Capital*, exposition of the first volume of *Capital* (in Russian translation, 1907). A representative of so-called Revisionism among the Marxists, as regards the agrarian question, is E. David, *Sozialismus und Landwirtschaft* [*Socialism and Agriculture*] (in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1906). For a critique of Revisionism see V. Ilyin, *The Agrarian Question*, Part I [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1908. See also books [all in Russian] by V. Ilyin: *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, second edition, St. Petersburg, 1908; *Economic Studies and Articles*, St. Petersburg, 1899; *New Data Concerning the Laws of Development of Capitalism and Agriculture*, Book I, 1917. An adaptation of Marx's views, with some deviations, to the latest data concerning agrarian relations in France, we find in Compère-Morel, *La question agraire et le socialisme en France* [*The Agrarian Question and Socialism in France*], Paris, 1912. Marx's economic views have been further developed by application to the latest phenomena in economic life in Hilferding's *Finanzkapital*

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* London and New York, 1925.—*Ed.*

[*Finance Capital*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1911 (essential inaccuracies of the author's views on the theory of value have been corrected by Kautsky in an article "Gold, Papier und Ware" ["Gold, Paper and Commodities"] in the *Neue Zeit*, XXX, 1; 1912, pp. 837 and 886); and V. Ilyin's *Imperialism as the Final Stage of Capitalism* [in Russian], 1917. Deviating from Marxism in essential points are: Peter Maslov's *Agrarian Question*, two volumes, and *Theory of Economic Development*, St. Petersburg, 1910 (both in Russian). A criticism of some of Maslov's deviations may be found in Kautsky's article "Malthusianismus und Socialismus" ["Malthusianism and Socialism"] in the *Neue Zeit*, XXIX, 1, 1911.

Criticism of the economic doctrine of Marx, from the point of view of the so-called marginal utility theory that is widespread among bourgeois professors, is contained in the following works: Böhm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System* * [in Russian translation, St. Petersburg, 1897], and *Kapital und Kapitalzins* [*Capital and Capital Interest*], two volumes, Innsbruck, 1900-1902 [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1909; Riekes, *Wert und Tauschwert* [*Value and Exchange Value*], 1899; von Bortkiewicz, "Wertrechnung und Preisrechnung im Marxschen System" ["Calculation of Value and Calculation of Price in the Marxian System"] (*Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1906-1907); Leo von Buch, *Ueber die Elemente der politischen Oekonomie. Die Intensität der Arbeit, Wert und Preis* [*On the Elements of Political Economy. Intensity of Labour, Value and Price*]. Böhm-Bawerk's critique, analysed from a Marxian point of view by Hilferding in his *Böhm-Bawerks Marx-Kritik* [*Böhm-Bawerk's Criticism of Marx*] (in *Marx-Studien*, Vol. I., Vienna, 1909), and in smaller articles published in the *Neue Zeit*.

On the question of the two main currents in the interpretation and development of Marxism—the so-called revisionism versus radical ("orthodox") Marxism, see Eduard Bernstein's *Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*,** Stuttgart, 1899 [two Russian translations, St. Petersburg, 1901, and Moscow, 1901] and *Aus der Geschichte und Theorie des Sozialismus* [*From the History and Theory of Socialism*] [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1902. A reply to Bernstein is contained in Karl Kautsky's *Bernstein und das sozialdemokratische Programm* [*Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme*], Stuttgart, 1899 (four Russian editions, 1905 and 1906). Of the French Marxian literature see Jules Guesde's books: *Quatre ans de lutte des classes* [*Four Years of Class Struggle*], *En Garde* [*On Guard*], *and Questions d' aujourd'hui* [*Questions of To-day*], Paris, 1911; Paul Lafargue, *Le déterminisme économique. La méthode historique de Karl Marx* [*Economic Determinism. The Historical Method of Karl Marx*), Paris, 1909; Anton Pannekoek, *Zwei Tendenzen in der Arbeiterbewegung* [*Two Tendencies in the Labour Movement*].

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* London, 1898.—*Ed.*

** Published in English as *Evolutionary Socialism*, New York, 1909.—*Ed.*

On the question of the Marxian theory of capital accumulation, there is a new work by Rosa Luxemburg, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* [*The Accumulation of Capital*], Berlin, 1913, and an analysis of her incorrect interpretation of Marx's theory by Otto Bauer, "Die Akkumulation des Kapitals" ["The Accumulation of Capital"] (*Neue Zeit*, XXXI, 1, 1913, pp. 831 and 862; also by Eckstein in the *Vorwärts* and by Pannekoek in the *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* [*Bremen Citizen's Gazette*] for 1913.

Of the old Russian literature on Marxism let us note the following: B. Chicherin, "The German Socialists," in Bezobrazov's *Collection of Political Science*, St. Petersburg, 1888, and *History of Political Doctrines*, part V, Moscow, 1902, p. 156; a reply to the above by Ziber, *The German Economists Through Mr. Chicherin's Glasses*, in his *Collected Works*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1900; G. Slonimsky, *The Economic Doctrine of Karl Marx*, St. Petersburg, 1898; N. Ziber, *David Ricardo and Karl Marx in Their Socio-economic Investigations*, St. Petersburg, 1885, and Vol. II of his *Collected Works*, St. Petersburg, 1900. Also J. Kaufmann's (J. K——n) review of *Capital* in the *Vestnik Evropy* for 1872, No. 5—an article distinguished by the fact that, in his addendum to the second edition of *Capital*, Marx quoted J. K.——n's arguments, recognizing them as a correct exposition of his dialectic-materialist method.

The Russian Narodniks on Marxism: N. K. Mikhailovsky—in the *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, 1894, No. 10, and 1895, Nos. 1 and 2; also reprinted in his collected works—remarks concerning P. Struve's *Critical Notes*, St. Petersburg, 1894. Mikhailovsky's views analysed from a Marxian point of view by K. Tulin (V. Ilyin) in his *Data Characterising Our Economic Development*, printed in St. Petersburg, 1895, but destroyed by the censor, later reprinted in V. Ilyin's

For Twelve Years, St. Petersburg, 1908. Other Narodnik works: V. V., *Our Lines of Policy*, St. Petersburg, 1892, and *From the Seventies to the Twentieth Century*, St. Petersburg, 1907; Nikolai—on, *Outline of Our Post-Reform Social Economy*, St. Petersburg, 1893; V. Chernov, *Marxism and the Agrarian Problem*, St. Petersburg, 1906, and *Philosophical and Sociological Sketches*, St. Petersburg, 1907.

Besides the Narodniks, let us note further the following: N. Kareyev, *Old and New Sketches on Historical Materialism* [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1896; (second edition in 1913 under the title *Critique of Economic Materialism*); Masaryk, *Das philosophischen und soziologischen Grundlagen des Marxismus* [in Russian translation], Moscow, 1900; Croce, *Historical Materialism and Marxian Economy* * [in Russian translation], St. Petersburg, 1902.

In order correctly to evaluate Marx's views, it is necessary to be acquainted with the works of his closest brother-in-ideas and collaborator, Friedrich Engels. It is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account *all* the works of Engels.

For a critique of Marx from the point of view of Anarchism, see V. Cherkezov, *The Doctrines of Marxism*, two parts [in Russian], St. Petersburg, 1905; V. Tucker, *Instead of a Book* [in Russian], Moscow, 1907; Sorel (syndicalist), *Insegnamenti sociali della economia contemporanea* [in Russian translation], Moscow, 1908.

* New York, 1914.—*Ed.*

ARTICLES, SPEECHES, RESOLUTIONS, ETC., FROM SEPTEMBER, 1914, TO AUGUST, 1915

THE TASKS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE EUROPEAN WAR

RESOLUTION OF A GROUP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS[2]

1. The European and World War bears the sharp marks of a bourgeois-imperialist and dynastic war. A struggle for markets, for freedom to loot foreign countries, a tendency to put an end to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and democracy within the separate countries, a tendency to fool, to disunite, to slaughter the proletariat of all countries by inflaming the wage slaves of one nation against the wage slaves of the other for the benefit of the bourgeoisie—this is the only real meaning and significance of the war.

2. The conduct of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, the strongest and the most influential party belonging to the Second International (1889-1914), which voted for the military appropriations and which repeated the bourgeois chauvinist phrases of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie, is a direct betrayal of Socialism.[3] Under no circumstances, even assuming the absolute weakness of that party and the necessity of its submitting to the will of the bourgeois majority of the nation, can the conduct of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party be justified. This party has in fact adopted a national-liberal policy.

3. The same condemnation is deserved by the conduct of the leaders of the Belgian[4] and French[5] Social-Democratic parties, who have betrayed Socialism by entering bourgeois cabinets.

4. The betrayal of Socialism by a majority of the leaders of the Second International (1889-1914) signifies an ideological and political collapse of that International. The fundamental reason for this collapse is the actual prevalence in it of petty-bourgeois opportunism, the bourgeois nature and the danger of which has long been pointed out by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. The opportunists had long been preparing the collapse of the Second International by renouncing the Socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by reject-

ing the class-struggle, which at certain moments necessarily turns into civil war, and preaching instead the collaboration of classes; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism and defence of the fatherland, under the cloak of patriotism, and rejecting the elementary truth of Socialism, expressed long ago in the *Communist Manifesto,* that the workers have no fatherland; by confining themselves in the struggle against militarism to a sentimental philistine point of view instead of recognising the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeois of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessity of utilising bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois legality, forgetting that in times of crises illegal forms of organisation and propaganda are imperative. One of the organs of international opportunism, the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* [*Socialist Monthly*],[6] which has long moved to the national-liberal position, is consistent when it celebrates its victory over European Socialism. The so-called centre of German Social-Democracy and of other Social-Democratic parties has in reality faint-heartedly capitulated before the opportunists. It must be the task of the future International resolutely and irrevocably to free itself of this bourgeois trend in Socialism.

5. Of the bourgeois and chauvinist sophisms by which the bourgeois parties and the governments of the two chief rival nations of the continent, the German and the French, are fooling the masses most effectively, and which are being slavishly repeated by both the open and covert Socialist opportunists who are trailing at the tail end of the bourgeoisie, one must particularly note and brand the following. When the German bourgeois refer to the defence of the fatherland, to the struggle against tsarism, to the fight for the freedom of cultural and national development, they lie, because Prussian Junkerdom with Wilhelm II at its head, and the big bourgeoisie of Germany, have always pursued a policy of defending the tsarist monarchy and, whatever the outcome of the war, they will not fail to direct their efforts towards its support; they lie because, in reality, the Austrian bourgeoisie has undertaken a predatory campaign against Serbia, the German bourgeoisie oppresses Danes, Poles, and Frenchmen (in Alsace-Lorraine); it leads an aggressive war against Belgium and France for the sake of looting the richer and freer countries; it organised an offensive at a moment which seemed most favourable for utilising its latest improvements in military technique and on the eve of the introduction in Russia

of the so-called great military programme. Similarly, when the French bourgeois refer to the defence of the fatherland, etc., they lie, because in reality they defend countries that are backward in capitalist technique and that develop more slowly, and because they hire for their billions the Black Hundred gangs of Russian tsarism for an aggressive war whose aim it is to loot Austrian and German lands. Neither of the two belligerent groups of nations is behind the other as far as cruelty and barbarism in war methods are concerned.

6. It is the task of the Social-Democracy of Russia in the first place and with particular emphasis to conduct a merciless and ruthless struggle against Great-Russian and tsarist-monarchist chauvinism, and against the sophisms advanced by the Russian liberals, Constitutional-Democrats, a section of the Narodniks and other bourgeois parties, for the defence of that chauvinism.

From the point of view of the working class and the labouring masses of all the peoples of Russia, by far the lesser evil would be the defeat of the Tsar's armies and the Tsar's monarchy, which oppresses Poland, the Ukraine, and a number of other peoples of Russia, and which inflames national hatred in order to increase the pressure of Great-Russia over the other nationalities and in order to strengthen the reaction of the barbarous government of the Tsar's monarchy.

7. The slogans of Social-Democracy must now be: First, an all-embracing propaganda of the Socialist revolution, to be extended also to the army and the area of military activities; emphasis to be placed on the necessity of turning the weapons, not against the brother wage-slaves of other countries, but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties in each country; recognition of the urgent necessity of organising illegal nuclei and groups in the armies of all nations to conduct such propaganda in all languages; a merciless struggle against the chauvinism and patriotism of the philistines and bourgeoisie of all countries without exception. Against the leaders of the present International who have betrayed Socialism, it is imperative to appeal to the revolutionary consciousness of the working masses who bear the brunt of the war and are in most cases hostile to chauvinism and opportunism. Secondly, (as one of the immediate slogans) propaganda in favour of republics in Germany, Poland, Russia, and other countries and in favour of transforming all the separate states of Europe into united republican

states of Europe. Thirdly and particularly, struggle against the tsarist monarchy and the Great-Russian, Pan-Slavist chauvinism, and advocacy of a revolution in Russia as well as of the liberation and self-determination of the nationalities oppressed by Russia, coupled with the immediate slogans of a democratic republic, the confiscation of the landowners' lands and an eight-hour work-day.

GROUP OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS,
MEMBERS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

Published for the first time in this volume from a manuscript copied by N. K. Krupskaya (Lenin's widow).

SPEECH AT G. V. PLEKHANOV'S LECTURE ON THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIALISTS TOWARDS THE WAR

DELIVERED OCTOBER 11, 1914[7]

BRIEF NEWSPAPER REPORT

"OUR theses, as prepared by the Central Committee of the party, have been forwarded to the Italians and many of them, unfortunately not all, were incorporated in the Lugano resolution,"[8] thus Comrade Lenin started his speech.

The first part of Plekhanov's lecture, where he analyses the betrayal of the German Social-Democrats, is very pleasing to the opponent, but he cannot say the same thing of the second part where Plekhanov tries to justify fully the position of the French Socialists.

How can one defend French Socialism which is appealing to the Italians to join the war, Lenin asks. Even in the very elastic resolutions of the International, he says, it is difficult to find passages to justify that appeal.

The present war, he continues, shows what a tremendous opportunist wave has risen from the bottom of European Socialism. To rehabilitate themselves, the European opportunists have resorted to the old threadbare argument about maintaining the organisation "intact." The German orthodox Socialists have abandoned their position in order to retain the formal unity of the party. He, Comrade Lenin, always points out the opportunism hidden in such an approach to the question; he always fights against conciliation at the price of principles. All the resolutions of Vandervelde and Kautsky suffer from this opportunist tendency to take off the sharp edges of obvious contradictions. Kautsky in his article on the war[9] even goes so far as to justify everybody by declaring that everybody is right from his own standpoint, since *subjectively* everybody considers himself in danger and *subjectively* everybody considers his right to existence destroyed. Of course, such sentiment on the part of the Frenchmen can be more easily understood from the standpoint of the psychology of the moment, of humanitarianism, and it is therefore more sympathetic; still, Socialism cannot reason this way; it cannot proceed solely from fear of attack; and one must say openly that there is more chauvinism than Socialism in the conduct of the French.

Plekhanov, says Lenin, criticises those comrades who said that it was impossible to decide who was the aggressor. The present war, in his judgment, is *not at all an accident;* it does not depend upon the aggression of one or the other, but it was prepared by all the conditions of the development of bourgeois society. It had long been predicted in precisely the present combination, and on precisely the same lines. The Basle Congress spoke of it clearly; it even foresaw that Serbia would be the pretext for a conflict.

Comrade Lenin then proceeds to make clear what the duty of the Socialists is in time of war. *Social-Democrats,* he says, *fulfil their duty only when they struggle against the chauvinist poison gases of their own country.* The best example of how such duty is to be fulfilled is furnished by the Serbian Social-Democrats.[10]

Remembering the words of Marx that "the workers have no fatherland," [11] Lenin continues, the proletariat must not participate in the defence of the old framework of the bourgeois states, but it must create a new framework of Socialist republics. The broad masses of the proletariat cannot fail to grasp this by their true instinct. What is going on in Europe is a playing up of the worst and most deeply rooted prejudices. "Our task," says Lenin, "consists not in swimming with the current; our task is to turn the national, pseudo-national war into a decisive conflict of the proletariat with the ruling classes."

Lenin then criticises the entrance of the Socialists into the cabinet, and points out the responsibility which Socialists take upon themselves when they identify themselves with all the government's measures.

"Better go into a neutral country and tell the truth from there. Better address a free, independent word to the proletariat than become a Minister," were the last words of Lenin's brief remarks.

Golos [*Voice*],[12] No. 33, October 21, 1914.

THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WAR

LECTURE DELIVERED OCTOBER 14, 1914[13]

NEWSPAPER REPORT

The lecturer divides his lecture into two parts: First, an analysis of the present war, then the attitude of the Socialists towards this war.

An analysis of the character of the war, Lenin says, is a necessary preliminary for a Marxist when he wants to decide upon his attitude towards it. For such an analysis it is necessary, first of all, to make clear the objective conditions and the concrete circumstances of the present war. We must place this war in the historic background in which it is going on. Only then shall we be able to determine our attitude towards it. Else we would have, not a materialist, but an eclectic treatment of the question.

In conformity with the historical circumstances, the interrelation of classes, etc., our attitude towards the war must be different at different times. It is foolish to renounce participation in war forever and as a matter of principle. On the other hand, it is absurd to divide all wars into defensive and aggressive ones. Marx hated Russia in 1848, because at that time democracy in Germany could not gain the upper hand and develop, could not solidify the country into one national whole as long as the reactionary hand of backward Russia was suspended over Germany.

To determine our attitude towards the present war, we must understand wherein it differs from the former wars, what its peculiarities are.

Has the bourgeoisie given an explanation in this respect? No, it has given none, and it can give none under any circumstances. Judging by what is going on among the Socialists, one may think that they, too, have no idea of the distinguishing characteristics of the present war.

Yet, the Socialists once explained and foresaw it quite clearly. Moreover, there is not a single speech of a Socialist Deputy, not a single article of a Socialist publicist, in which such explanation is not contained. The explanation is so simple that, somehow, one does not pay attention to it. Still it gives the key to a correct attitude towards this war.

The present war is an imperialist war. This is its main characteristic.

To make this clear, we must analyse the nature of the past wars and the nature of an imperialist war.

Lenin then characterises in some detail the wars of the end of the eighteenth and of the entire nineteenth century. All those, he says, were *national wars* accompanying and helping the formation of national states.

Those wars signified the destruction of feudalism; they were the expression of the struggle of the new bourgeois society against feudalism. A national state is a necessary phase in the development of capitalism. The struggle for the self-determination of the nation, for its independence, for the freedom of its language, for popular representation, served this end—the creation of national states, which were, at a certain stage of capitalism, indispensable soil for the growth of productive forces.

Such is the character of the wars beginning with the period of the great French Revolution and continuing down to the Italian and Prussian wars.

This task of the national wars was carried out either by democracy itself, or with the aid of such men as Bismarck, independently of the will and consciousness of the participants themselves. To secure the victory of present-day civilisation, and the full growth of capitalism, to draw the whole people, all the nations, into capitalism—this is what national wars, the wars of the beginning of capitalism, served to do.

An imperialist war is a different thing. Here, too, there were once no differences of opinion between Socialists of all countries and all trends. When resolutions on the attitude towards a possible war were discussed at any congress, all agreed that such a war would be an *imperialist* war. All European countries have already reached an equal stage in the development of capitalism, all of them have yielded all that capitalism can give. Capitalism has already reached its highest form, it is already exporting, not commodities, but capital. It begins to feel cramped in its national shell, and there is a struggle now for the last free remnants of land on the globe. While the national wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries signified the beginning of capitalism, the imperialist wars indicate its end.

The entire end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries were full of imperialist politics.

It is imperialism that lends the present war an entirely different imprint; it is imperialism that distinguishes it from all the past wars.

Only when we observe this war in its peculiar historical surroundings, as it is the duty of a Marxist to do, can we determine our attitude towards it. Else we would be manipulating with old terms, with arguments fitting old and different surroundings. Among such antiquated terms is the term fatherland and the above-mentioned distinction between defensive and aggressive wars.

Of course, in a living picture of reality there may still be discerned spots of old paint. Thus, of all the belligerent countries only the Serbs are fighting for their national existence. Similarly, the class-conscious proletarians in India and China cannot follow any but the national road, as their countries have not been formed as yet into national states. If China had to wage an aggressive war for this purpose, we could only sympathise with it, since objectively this would be a progressive war. It was in the same way that Marx, in 1848, was in a position to preach an aggressive war against Russia.

The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century are characterised by imperialist politics.

Imperialism is a state of capitalism, when, having fulfilled all that is possible for it, capitalism makes a turn towards decay. This is a different epoch, not in the consciousness of the Socialists, but in social relations as they exist. The struggle is going on for the distribution of the remaining pieces of territory. This is the last historic task of capitalism. How long this epoch will last, we cannot say. There may be several such wars. We must, however, understand clearly that those wars are not the same as wars conducted earlier, and that, accordingly, the tasks confronting the Socialists are also different.

An entirely new type of organisation may be required for the proletarian party to solve those new problems. In his pamphlet, *Der Weg zur Macht* [*The Road to Power*],[14] Kautsky, carefully analysing economic phenomena and drawing conclusions from them with extreme caution, has pointed out that we are entering a phase entirely unlike the past peaceful gradual development.

It is very difficult to say at present what should be the new form of organisation to fit that new phase. It is clear, however, that in view of the new tasks, the proletarians will have to create new organisations or change the old. The more foolish is the fear of disrupting the old organisation, so strikingly manifested among the German Social-Democrats, the more absurd is this legalism at any price. We know that the Petrograd Committee has issued an illegal leaflet against the war.[15] The same was done by the Caucasian and a few other Russian organisations. There is no doubt that this can be done also abroad without severing connections.

Legality is, of course, a very precious thing, and it is not in vain that Engels said, "Messrs. Bourgeois, be the first to violate your legality!"[16] The things happening now may teach the German Social-Democrats a lesson, for it is a fact that the government, which has always prided itself on lawfulness, has violated it without compunction all along the line. In this respect, the brutal order of the Prussian commandant which he forced the *Vorwärts* [*Forward*] to print on its front page may prove useful.[17] The *Vorwärts* itself, however, having under threat of suspension renounced the class-struggle, and having promised not to mention it until the end of the war, has committed suicide. It has died, to use the correct expression of the Paris *Golos*, which at present is the best Socialist paper in Europe. The more often and the more violently I used to disagree with Martov, the more resolutely I must say that this writer is doing now what a Social-Democrat ought to do. He criticises his government, he unmasks his bourgeoisie, he abuses his Ministers. Socialists, however, who, having disarmed in relation to their own government, occupy themselves with unmasking and putting to shame the Ministers and ruling classes of another country, play the part of bourgeois writers. Objectively Südekum himself plays the part of an agent of the German government in the same way as others play that part in relation to the Franco-Russian allies.

Socialists who have not realised that this war is an imperialist war, who do not look upon it historically, will not understand anything in it. Such Socialists are apt to think of it in a childishly naïve manner, assuming, for instance, that in the dark of night one fellow has seized the other by the throat and the neighbours have either to save the victim of the assault, or, like cowards, hide from the fray "behind locked doors"[18] (Plekhanov's expression).

Let us not allow ourselves to be fooled; let us not allow the bourgeois counsellors to explain the war so simply as to say that people lived in peace, but one attacked another and the other had to defend himself.

Comrade Lenin then reads an excerpt from Luzzati's article which was published in an Italian paper. In that article the Italian statesman rejoices over the fact that the victor in the present war proved to be the fatherland, the idea of the fatherland. Luzzati says: "We must remember Cicero's saying that 'civil war is the greatest disaster.'"

This, Lenin continues, is what the bourgeois have already gained; this is what excites, what gladdens them most; this is what they have spent a heap of money and effort for. They try to assure us that this is the same old time-honoured national war.

But this is not true. The historic era of national wars is past. We are now confronted with an imperialist war, and it is the task of Socialists to turn the "national" war into civil war.

We have all anticipated, we have all been preparing for this imperialist war. This being the case, it is unimportant who has made the attack. Everybody was preparing for the war; the attack was made by the one who considered it most auspicious for himself at a given moment.

Comrade Lenin then takes up the term "fatherland," which he analyses from the Socialist point of view.

This term was precisely and clearly defined by the *Communist Manifesto* in those splendid pages which have been entirely verified and corroborated by life. Lenin reads an excerpt from the *Communist Manifesto* in which the term "fatherland" is treated as an historical category corresponding to the development of society in one of its stages and then becoming superfluous. The proletariat, says Lenin, cannot love what it does not possess. The proletariat has no fatherland.

What are the tasks of the Socialists in the present war?

Comrade Lenin reads the Stuttgart resolution[19] later confirmed and amplified at Copenhagen[20] and Basle.[21] That resolution, he says, clearly indicates the methods of struggle to be applied by the Socialists against the tendencies that lead to war, and their duties in relation to a war that has already broken out. Those duties are indicated by the examples of the Russian Revolution and the Paris Commune. The Stuttgart resolution was couched in cautious terms in view of the various criminal laws, but the task is indicated clearly. The Paris Commune is civil war. In what form, when, and how our work must be conducted, is another question, but its direction is perfectly clear.

From this point of view Comrade Lenin then analyses the positions taken up in practice by the Socialists of various countries. Outside of the Serbs, he says, only the Russians have done their duty, as noted by the Italian paper *Avanti* [*Forward*]; the same is being done by Keir Hardie, who exposes the policy of Edward Grey.[22]

Once the war has started, it is unthinkable to run away from it. One must go ahead and do the work of a Socialist. In the war people think and brood, perhaps, more than "at home." One must go there and organise the proletariat for the ultimate aim, as it is Utopian to think that the proletariat will achieve its aim in a peaceful way. It is impossible to pass from capitalism to Socialism without breaking national frameworks, as it was impossible to pass from feudalism to capitalism without adopting the idea of a nation.

Golos, **Nos. 37 and 38, October 25 and 27, 1914.**

LETTER TO A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

October 17, 1914

DEAR FRIEND:

Yesterday evening I came home from a lecture trip[23] to find your letter. Hearty greetings, and through you to all the Russian friends! The reply to Vandervelde[24] went yesterday to the translator; I have not seen the text as yet. As soon as I see it, I shall write to you about it.

In my opinion, the most important thing at present is a persistent and organised struggle against chauvinism which has taken hold of all the bourgeoisie and a majority of the opportunist Socialists (and those who make peace with opportunism—such as Mr. Kautsky). To carry this out, one must fight in the first place against the chauvinism of one's own land: to be specific, in Russia against gentlemen à la Maslov and Smirnov[25] (see the *Russkiye Vyedomosti* [*Russian Chronicles*] and *Russkoye Slovo* [*Russian Word*]) whose "works" I have read, or Messrs. Sokolov, Meshkovsky, Nikitin, and others whom you have either seen or heard. Plekhanov, as I think we have already written to you, has become a chauvinist Frenchman. The Liquidators are apparently in confusion.* Alexinsky is *said* to be a Francophile. Kossovsky, a Bundist, a Right Winger, whom I have heard lecture,[27] is a Germanophile.** It seems that the mean line of the entire Brussels "Bloc"[29] of the Messrs. Liquidators with Alexinsky and Plekhanov will be an adaptation to Kautsky, who is now *more harmful than all of them.* No words can describe how dangerous and mean are his sophisms which cover up the rascality of the opportunists (in the *Neue Zeit* [*New Era*])[30] with smooth and slick phrases. The opportunists are an open evil. The German centre with Kautsky at its head, a hidden evil embellished for diplomatic purposes and dulling the eyes, the intelligence, and the consciousness of the workers, is more dangerous than anything else. Our task at present is a determined and open struggle against international opportunism and those who shield it (Kautsky). This is what we are going to do in the Central Organ[31] which we shall soon issue (probably two pages). One must exert every effort to uphold the just hatred of the class-conscious workers for the hideous conduct of the Germans; one must draw from this hatred political conclusions *against* opportunism and against every concession to opportunism. This is an international task. It devolves upon us; there is nobody else. One cannot shirk it. The slogan of "simply" re-establishing the International is incorrect (because the danger of a spineless conciliatory resolution along the line of Kautsky and Vandervelde is very, very great!) The slogan of "peace" is incorrect, as the slogan must be: changing the national war into civil war. (This change may take a long time, it may and will demand a number of preliminary conditions, but the work must all be conducted *along the line of such* a change, in this spirit and in this direction.) Not the sabotaging of the war, not undertaking sporadic individual acts in this direction, but the conducting of mass propaganda (and not only among "civilians") that leads to the transformation of the war into civil war. In Russia, chauvinism hides behind phrases about *La Belle France* and unfortunate Belgium (how about the Ukraine and others?), or behind the "popular" hatred for the Germans (and "Kaiserism"). It is therefore our absolute duty to struggle against those sophisms. In order that the struggle may proceed along a definite and clear line, one must have a slogan that summarises it. This slogan is: For us *Russians*, from the point of view of the interests of the labouring masses and the working class of *Russia*, there can not be the slightest doubt, absolutely no doubt whatever, that the *lesser* evil would be, here and now, the defeat of tsarism in the present war. For tsarism is a hundred times worse than Kaiserism. We do not sabotage the war, but we struggle against chauvinism, all propaganda and agitation being directed towards international unification (drawing together, expressing solidarity, reaching agreements *selon les circonstances* *) of the proletariat in the interests of civil war. It would also be erroneous both to appeal for *individual* acts of firing at officers, and to allow arguments like the one which says: We do not want to help Kaiserism. The former is a deviation towards Anarchism, the latter towards opportunism. As to ourselves, we must prepare a mass (at least a collective) action in the army, not of one nation alone, and conduct *all* the work of propaganda and agitation in this direction. To direct the work (stubborn, systematic work that may require a long time) in the spirit of transforming the national war into civil war—this is the whole issue. The moment for such a transformation is a different question; at present it is not clear as yet. We must allow this moment to ripen, we must systematically "force it to ripen."

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* The intellectual Parisians, outvoted in the section by the workers, joined the war as volunteers (Nikolai Vasilyevich, Antonov, and others) and, together with the Socialists-Revolutionists, they issued a foolish non-party appeal.[26] It has been forwarded to you.

** Martov is more decent than any of them in the *Golos*,[28] but will Martov hold out? *I do not believe so.*

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* According to conditions.—*Ed.*

I conclude for the time being. Will write you often. Write more often yourself.

Give a detailed account of the contents of the Petrograd Committee's leaflet.

More details of Russian voices and reactions.

What is the correlation of *forces* among the Petrograd fractions? Have the Liquidators become stronger compared with us? How much?

Is Dan free? What is his stand? How about Chirkin, Bulkin and Co.? More details about that.

To whom and from whom have you sent the hundred rubles?

With firm handshake,

Yours,
LENIN

The peace slogan is in my judgment incorrect at the present moment. This is a philistine's, a preacher's, slogan. The proletarian slogan must be civil war.

Objectively, from the fundamental change in the situation of Europe, there follows such a slogan for the epoch of mass war. The same slogan follows from the Basle resolution.

We can neither "promise" civil war nor "decree it," but it is our duty to work *in this direction*, if need be, for a very long time. You will find details in the article in the Central Organ. For the time being I am just outlining the main points of our position, so that we may agree.

First published in the *Lenin Collection*, II, 1924.

THE WAR AND RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The European War, which the governments and the bourgeois parties of all countries were preparing for decades, has broken out. The growth of armaments, the sharpening of the struggle for markets in the epoch of the latest, the imperialist, stage in the development of capitalism of the foremost countries, the dynastic interests of the most backward East European monarchies, were inevitably bound to bring about, and did bring about, the present war. To seize lands and to conquer foreign nations, to ruin competing nations, to pillage their wealth, to divert the attention of the labouring masses from the domestic political crises of Russia, Germany, England, and other countries, to disunite the workers and fool them with nationalism, to annihilate their vanguards in order to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, such is the only real essence, the significance and the meaning of the present war.

Upon Social-Democracy, in the first place, devolves the duty to make clear this real meaning of the war, and mercilessly to unmask the falsehoods, the sophisms and the "patriotic" phrases which are spread by the ruling classes, the landowners and the bourgeoisie, in defence of the war.

One of the belligerent groups of nations is headed by the German bourgeoisie. It has fooled the working class and the labouring masses by asserting that it wages the war for the defence of the fatherland, liberty, and civilisation, for the liberation of the peoples that are oppressed by tsarism, for the destruction of reactionary tsarism. In reality, that same bourgeoisie, servile in face of the Prussian Junkers with Wilhelm II at their head, has always been the most faithful ally of tsarism and the enemy of the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants in Russia. In reality, that bourgeoisie will, together with the Junkers, direct all its efforts, no matter what the outcome of the war may be, to support the tsarist monarchy against a revolution in Russia.

In reality, the German bourgeoisie undertook a predatory campaign against Serbia with the aim of subjugating it and throttling the national revolution of the Southern Slavs, at the same time directing the bulk of its military forces against freer countries, Belgium and France, in order to pillage the richer competitor. The German bourgeoisie, spreading the fable of a defensive war on its part, in reality chose the moment which was most propitious for its warfare, utilising its latest improvements in military technique and forestalling the new armaments that had already been mapped out and approved of by Russia and France.

At the head of the other group of belligerent nations are the English and French bourgeoisie which fool the working class and the labouring masses by asserting that this group leads a war for the fatherland, freedom and civilisation against the militarism and despotism of Germany. In reality, this bourgeoisie has long been buying for its billions, and preparing for an attack on Germany, the armies of Russian tsarism, the most reactionary and barbarous monarchy of Europe.

In reality, the task of the struggle of the English and French bourgeoisie is to seize the German colonies and to ruin a competing nation which is distinguished by a more rapid economic development. For this noble aim, the "advanced" democratic nations are helping ferocious tsarism still more to choke Poland, the Ukraine, etc., still more to throttle the revolution in Russia.

Neither of the two groups of belligerent countries is behind the other in robberies, bestialities and endless brutalities of war. But in order to fool the proletarians and detract their attention from the only war for real freedom, namely, a civil war against the bourgeoisie both of "their own" and "foreign" countries, in order to further this noble aim the bourgeoisie of each country strives, by means of patriotic phrases, to extol the significance of "its own" national war and to assert that it strives to vanquish the adversary not for the sake of robbery and seizure of lands, but for the sake of "liberating" all the other peoples except its own.

But the greater the efforts of the governments and the bourgeoisie of all countries to disunite the workers and to pit them one against the other, the more ferociously they use for this lofty purpose a system of martial law and military censorship (which measures even now, in time of war, are more successful against the "enemy within" than against the enemy without), the more urgent is the duty of the class-conscious proletariat to defend its class solidarity, its internationalism, its Socialist convictions against the orgy of chauvinism of the "patriotic" bourgeois cliques of all countries. To repudiate this task would, on the part of the class-conscious workers, mean to renounce all their striving towards freedom and democracy, not to speak of Socialism.

With a feeling of deepest chagrin it must be stated that the Socialist parties of the leading European countries have not fulfilled this duty of theirs, while the behaviour of the leaders of those parties—particularly that of the German party—borders on direct betrayal of the cause of Socialism. At this moment, which is of the greatest importance in world history, the majority of the leaders of the present, the Second (1889-1914) Socialist International, are attempting to substitute nationalism for Socialism. Thanks to their behaviour, the workers' parties of those countries have not counterposed their position to the criminal behaviour of the governments; on the contrary, they are appealing to the working class to identify its position with the position of the imperialist governments. The leaders of the International committed treachery with regard to Socialism when they voted for military appropriations, when they repeated the chauvinist ("patriotic") slogans of the bourgeoisie of "their" countries, when they justified and defended the war, when they entered the bourgeois cabinets of the belligerent countries, etc., etc. The point of view of the most influential Socialist leaders, and of the most influential organs of the Socialist press of present-day Europe, is chauvinist, bourgeois, and liberal, not Socialist at all. The responsibility for thus covering Socialism with shame rests, in the first place, on the German Social-Democrats who were the strongest and most influential party of the Second International. However, one cannot justify the French Socialists either, who took ministerial posts in the government of the same bourgeoisie which betrayed its fatherland and allied itself with Bismarck to crush the Commune.

The German and Austrian Social-Democrats try to justify their support of the war by saying that thereby they struggle against tsarism. We Russian Social-Democrats declare that we consider such a justification to be a downright sophism. The revolutionary movement against tsarism in our country has again assumed tremendous proportions in the last years. The Russian working class has always marched at the head of this movement. The political strikes of the last years, embracing millions of workers, proceeded paig er the slogan of overthrowing tsarism and establishing a democratic republic. On the very eve of the war, the President of the French Republic, Poincaré, while visiting Nicholas II, could see with his own eyes barricades constructed by the hands of the Russian workers in the streets of St. Petersburg. The Russian proletariat did not stop before any sacrifice to free humanity from the shame of tsarism. We must say that if there is anything that, under certain conditions, may delay the destruction of tsarism, if there is anything that may help tsarism in its struggle against the whole of Russian democracy, it is the present war, which has placed at the disposal of tsarism for the furthering of its reactionary aims, the purse of the English, French, and Russian bourgeoisie. And if there is anything that can make the revolutionary struggle of the Russian working class against tsarism more difficult, it is the behaviour of the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy, a behaviour continually held up by the chauvinist press of Russia as an example for us.

Even if we assume that German Social-Democracy was so weak that it was compelled to abandon every kind of revolutionary action, even then it should not have joined the chauvinist camp, it should not have taken steps which gave occasion to the Italian Socialists justly to declare that the leaders of the German Social-Democrats were debasing the banner of the proletarian International.[32]

Our party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, has suffered, and will yet suffer, great losses in connection with the war. All our legal labour press has been annihilated. The majority of the labour unions have been closed, a multitude of our comrades have been imprisoned and deported. But our parliamentary representatives—the Russian Social-Democratic Labour fraction in the Imperial Duma—considered it its unquestionable Socialist duty not to vote for military appropriations and even to leave the meeting hall of the Duma in order more energetically to express its protest; it considered it its duty to brand the politics of the European governments as imperialist.[33] Notwithstanding the tenfold increased oppression by the Tsar's government, our comrade workers in Russia are already publishing their first illegal appeals against the war, doing their duty by democracy and by the International.

If the representatives of revolutionary Social-Democracy, the minority of the German Social-Democrats[34] and the best Social-Democrats in the neutral countries, are experiencing a burning feeling of shame over this collapse of the Second International; if voices of Socialists against the chauvinism of the majority of the Social-Democratic parties are becoming audible both in England and in France; [35] if the opportunists, represented, for instance, by the German monthly, the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, who had long occupied a national-liberal position, are justly celebrating their victory over European Socialism—then the worst service is being rendered to the proletariat by those who vacillate between opportunism and revolutionary Social-Democracy (like the "centre" in the German Social-Democratic Party), who attempt to pass over in silence or to cover up with diplomatic phrases the collapse of the Second International.

On the contrary, it is necessary openly to recognise this collapse and understand its causes in order to be able to build a new, a more lasting Socialist unification of the workers of all countries.

The opportunists have set at naught the decisions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen, and Basle Congresses, which made it the duty of the Socialists of all countries to fight against chauvinism under all possible conditions, which made it the duty of Socialists to react against any war begun by the bourgeoisie and the governments by increasing propaganda of civil war and social revolution. The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism which was growing on the soil of a specific (the so-called "peaceful") historic epoch now passed, and which practically dominated the International in the last years. The opportunists had long been preparing this collapse by rejecting the Socialist revolution and substituting for it bourgeois reformism; by repudiating the class struggle with its inevitable transformation into civil war at certain moments, and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the name of patriotism and defence of the fatherland and ignoring or repudiating the fundamental truth of Socialism early expressed in the *Communist Manifesto*, namely, that the workers have no fatherland; by confining themselves in their struggle against militarism to a sentimental, philistine point of view instead of recognising the necessity of a revolutionary war of the proletarians of all countries against the bourgeoisie of all countries; by turning the necessary utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois legality into a fetish of this legality and into forgetfulness of the duty to have illegal forms of organisation and agitation in times of crises. A natural "supplement" of opportunism, as bourgeois as the latter and as hostile to the proletarian, *i. e.*, the Marxian, point of view, is the anarcho-syndicalist current which became marked in the present crisis by a no less shamefully self-satisfied repetition of the slogans of chauvinism than that of the opportunists.

It is impossible to carry out the tasks of Socialism at the present time, it is impossible to accomplish a really international unification of the workers without radically breaking with opportunism and without making clear to the masses the inevitability of its fiasco.

It must be the task of the Social-Democracy of every country first of all to struggle against the chauvinism of that country. In Russia this chauvinism has completely embraced the bourgeois liberals (the Cadets) and partly the Narodniks down to the Socialists-Revolutionists and the "Right" Social-Democrats. It is particularly necessary to brand the chauvinist declarations of such men as E. Smirnov, P. Maslov and G. Plekhanov, who have been taken up and widely utilised by the bourgeois "patriotic" press.

Under given conditions, it is impossible to determine from the standpoint of the international proletariat which is the lesser evil for Socialism: the defeat of one or the defeat of the other group of belligerent nations. For us Russian Social-Democrats, however, there cannot exist the least doubt that from the standpoint of the working class and of the labouring masses of all the peoples of Russia, the lesser evil would be the defeat of the tsarist monarchy, the most reactionary and barbarous government oppressing the greatest number of nations and the greatest mass of the populations of Europe and Asia.

The political slogan of the Social-Democrats of Europe for the near future must be the creation of a republican United States of Europe. In contrast to the bourgeoisie, which is ready to "promise" anything in order to draw the proletariat into the general stream of chauvinism, the Social-Democrats will explain that this slogan is false and senseless without a revolutionary overthrow of the German, Austrian and Russian monarchies.

In Russia, due to the greater backwardness of the country, which has not yet completed its bourgeois revolution, the tasks of the Social-Democrats are, as heretofore, the following three fundamental conditions for a consistent democratic reconstruction: a democratic republic (with full and equal rights for all nationalities, including the right of self-determination), confiscation of the landowners' land, and an eight-hour work-day. In all the other advanced countries, however, the war has placed on the order of the day the slogan of a Socialist revolution, which becomes the more urgent the more heavily the burdens of war are pressing on the shoulders of the proletariat and as it becomes apparent that it will play a more active part in the restoration of Europe after the horrors of the present "patriotic" barbarism aided by the gigantic technical progress of big capitalism. The utilisation by the bourgeoisie of the laws of war time for gagging the proletariat, makes it absolutely necessary to create illegal forms of agitation and organisation. Let the opportunists "save" the legal organisations at the price of betraying their convictions; the revolutionary Social-Democrats will utilise the organisational habits and connections of the working class to organise illegal forms of organisation befitting an epoch of crisis, in order to fight for Socialism and to unite the workers, not with the chauvinist bourgeoisie of their respective countries, but with the workers of all countries. The proletarian International has not perished and will not perish. The working masses will overcome all obstacles and create a new International. The present triumph of opportunism is short-lived. The greater the war losses, the clearer it will become for the working masses that the opportunists betrayed the cause of the workers and that it is necessary to turn the weapons against the governments and the bourgeoisie of the respective countries.

Turning the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan. It is indicated by the experience of the Commune, it was outlined by the Basle resolution (1912) and it follows from all the conditions of an imperialist war among highly developed bourgeois countries. However difficult such transformation may appear at one time or another, Socialists will never relinquish systematic, insistent, unflinching preparatory work in this direction once the war has become a fact.

Only along this road will the proletariat be able to break away from under the influence of the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and sooner or later, in one form or another, will it take decisive steps on the road to real freedom of peoples, and on the road to Socialism.

Long live the international brotherhood of the workers united against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries!

Long live a proletarian International, free from opportunism!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY.

Written October, 1914.
Sotsial-Demokrat [*Social-Democrat*], No. 33, November 1, 1914.

POSITION AND TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

What is most depressing in the present crisis is the triumph of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism over a majority of the official representatives of European Socialism. It is not in vain that the bourgeois papers of all countries either mock at them or laud them condescendingly. There is no task more important for those who wish to remain Socialists than to make clear the causes of the Socialist crisis and to analyse the tasks of the International.

There are people who are afraid to recognise the truth that the crisis, or more correctly the collapse of the Second International, is the collapse of opportunism.

Reference is made, for instance, to the unanimity of the French Socialists; to the fact that the old factions of Socialism changed their positions in relation to the war. But all these references are incorrect.

Defence of class collaboration; renunciation of the idea of a Socialist revolution and of all revolutionary methods of struggle; adaptation to bourgeois nationalism; forgetfulness of the fact that the frontiers of nationality and fatherland are changing in history; making a fetish of bourgeois legalism; abolition of the class point of view and the class struggle out of fear of repelling the "broad masses of the population" (read: petty bourgeoisie)—those are undoubtedly the ideological foundations of opportunism. It is on this soil that the present chauvinist-patriotic mood of the majority of the leaders of the Second International has grown. That the opportunists prevailed among those leaders was long noted from various angles by various observers. In consequence of the war, the real dimensions of this prevalence were disclosed most rapidly and in striking manner. That the unusual acuteness of the crisis has made the old factions change places here and there, should surprise nobody. On the whole, however, these changes affected only individuals. The currents inside of Socialism have remained the same.

There is no full unanimity among the French Socialists. Even

Vaillant, who pursues a chauvinist line together with Guesde, Plekhanov, Hervé and others, is compelled to recognise that he is receiving a series of letters from protesting French Socialists who point out that the war is an imperialist one and that the French bourgeoisie is guilty of it no less than the others. One must not forget that such voices are stifled not only by triumphant opportunism but also by military censorship. In England, Hyndman's group (the English Social-Democrats, the British Socialist Party) [36] has completely sunk into chauvinism, as is the case with the majority of the semi-liberal leaders of the trade unions. Resistance to chauvinism is offered by MacDonald and Keir Hardie of the opportunist Independent Labour Party.[37] This is really an exception to the rule, but some revolutionary Social-Democrats who had long fought against Hyndman have now left the ranks of the British Socialist Party. Among the Germans the picture is clear: The opportunists are victorious, they are jubilant, they are in their own element. The "centre" headed by Kautsky has sunk into opportunism, which it defends by unusually hypocritical, vulgar and self-satisfied sophisms. In the ranks of the revolutionary Social-Democrats, protests are being heard from Mehring, Pannekoek, K. Liebknecht,[38] and from a series of nameless voices in Germany and in German Switzerland. In Italy, the groupings are also clear: The extreme opportunists, Bissolati and Co. are for the "fatherland," [39] for Guesde—Vaillant—Plekhanov—Hervé. The revolutionary Social-Democrats (the Socialist Party) with the *Avanti* at its head, is fighting against chauvinism and exposing the selfish bourgeois character of the appeals for war, enjoying the support of a large majority of the advanced workers.[40] In Russia, the extreme opportunists of the Liquidators' camp have already raised their voices in defence of chauvinism in lectures and in the press. P. Maslov and E. Smirnov are defending tsarism under the pretext of "defence of the fatherland" (Germany, don't you see, threatens to force upon "us" commercial treaties at the point of the sword, whereas tsarism, it seems, did not and does not throttle the economic, political and national life of nine-tenths of the population of Russia by the power of the sword, the knout and the scaffold!), and they are defending the entry of Socialists into bourgeois reactionary cabinets and voting for military appropriations to-day, for new armaments to-morrow!! Plekhanov has sunk into nationalism, hiding his Russian chauvinism under Francophilism; so has Alexinsky. Martov, judging by the Paris *Golos,* behaves more decently than the rest of this company, offering, as he does, resistance to both German and French chauvinism, rising both against the *Vorwärts,* against Mr. Hyndman, and against Maslov, but afraid to declare a decisive war against international opportunism and its most "influential" defender, the "centre" of the German Social-Democracy. The attempt to paint war-volunteering as a realisation of Socialist tasks (see the declaration of a group of Russian volunteers in Paris, consisting of Social-Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionists, also Polish Social-Democrats, Leder and others) was defended only by Plekhanov. The majority of the Paris section of our party has condemned these attempts. The position of the Central Committee of our party is clear to the readers from the editorial in the present issue.* In the history of the way in which the views of our party were formulated we must, to avoid misunderstandings, establish the following facts: A group of members of our party, overcoming the tremendous difficulties of re-establishing organisational connections disrupted by the war, first worked out the "theses," and on September 6-8, had them circulated among the comrades. Then it conveyed them through the Swiss Social-Democrats to two members of the Italo-Swiss Conference at Lugano (September 27). Only by the middle of October did it become possible to re-establish connections and to formulate the standpoint of the Central Committee of the party. The "thesis," as finally edited, is the editorial of this issue.

Such is, in brief, the state of affairs in European and Russian Social-Democracy. The collapse of the International is apparent. This is definitely proven by the controversy between the French and German Socialists.[41] Not only the "Left" Social-Democrats (Mehring and the *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* [*Bremen Citizen's Gazette*])[42] but even the moderate Swiss organs (*Volksrecht* [*People's Right*])[43] have recognised this. Kautsky's attempt to gloss over this collapse is a cowardly evasion. The collapse of the Second International is clearly the collapse of opportunism which found itself in bourgeois captivity.

The position of the bourgeoisie is clear. It is equally clear that the opportunists only repeat bourgeois arguments without criticism. To what is said in the editorial we may only add perhaps that the *Neue Zeit* derisively points out that internationalism consists in the workers of one country firing upon the workers of another country in the name of defence of the fatherland!

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* See p. 76.—*Ed.*

The fatherland question, we say to the opportunists, cannot be raised in the abstract without an analysis of the concrete historical character of the present war. This war is an imperialist war, *i. e.*, a war of the period of a most developed capitalism, a period of the *end* of capitalism. It is necessary that the working class first "constitute itself as the nation," says the *Communist Manifesto*, thereby indicating the *limits* and *conditions* for our recognition of nation and fatherland as necessary forms of the bourgeois order and, consequently, also of the bourgeois fatherland. The opportunists distort this truth when they apply to the final stage of capitalism that which was true in relation to budding capitalism. Of this final stage of capitalism, and of the tasks of the proletariat in its struggle to destroy, not feudalism, but capitalism, Karl Marx says clearly and definitely: "The workers have no fatherland." It is obvious why the opportunists are afraid to recognise this truth of Socialism, why, in most cases, they are even afraid openly to debate it. The Socialist movement cannot be victorious within the old framework of the fatherland. It creates new, higher forms of human life under which the best demands and progressive tendencies of the labouring masses of *all* nationalities will be fully satisfied in an international unity while the present national partitions are destroyed. The attempts of the present-day bourgeoisie to disunite and split the workers by means of hypocritical references to the "defence of the fatherland" will meet with ever new attempts of the workers to establish the unity of the workers of the various nations in the struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie of all nations.

The bourgeoisie is fooling the masses by spreading the cloak of the old ideology of "national war" over the imperialist plunder. The proletariat exposes this swindle in that it raises the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. This very slogan was suggested by the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions, which had in mind not war in general but precisely the present war, and which spoke not of the "defence of the fatherland" but of "hastening the collapse of capitalism," of utilising for this aim the crisis created by the war, and of the example of the Commune. The Commune was a transformation of war between peoples into civil war.

Such a transformation, of course, is not easy, and cannot be accomplished by the individual parties at will. Such a transformation, however, is inherent in the objective conditions of capitalism in general, in the epoch of the final stage of capitalism in particular. In this, and only in this direction, must the Socialists conduct their work. To refrain from voting for military appropriations, to refrain from aiding and abetting the chauvinism of "our" country (and its allied nations), to fight, in the first place, against the chauvinism of "our" bourgeoisie without being confined to the legal forms of struggle when the crisis has set in and the bourgeoisie itself has done away with the legality created by it—this is the *line* of work that *leads* to civil war, and that will bring it about at this or that moment of the all-European conflagration.

The war is not an accident, not a "sin," as is the idea of the Christian ministers (who preach patriotism, humanitarianism and peace no less eloquently than the opportunists); it is an inevitable stage of capitalism, it is a form of *capitalist* life as natural as peace. The war of our days is a people's war. It does not follow from this truth that one must swim with the "popular" current of chauvinism; on the contrary, even in war times, in the war itself the same class antagonisms that rend the peoples will continue to exist and will manifest themselves in a military way. The idea of refusing to serve in the army, of strikes against the war, etc., is mere foolishness, it is the miserable and cowardly dream of an unarmed struggle against an armed bourgeoisie, it is a weak yearning for the abolition of capitalism without a desperate civil war or a series of wars. Propaganda of class struggle even in the midst of war is the duty of a Socialist; work directed toward transforming the war of the peoples into a civil war is the only Socialist work in the epoch of an imperialist armed conflict of the bourgeoisie of all nations. Down with the sentimental and foolish preacher's yearnings for a "peace at any price!" Let us raise the banner of civil war! Imperialism has put the fate of European civilisation at stake: this war, if there does not follow a series of successful revolutions, will soon be followed by other wars; the fable of the "last war" is an empty, harmful fable, a philistine "myth" (to use the correct expression of the *Golos*).[44] If not to-day, then certainly to-morrow; if not during the present war, then after it; if not in this war, then in the following one, the proletarian banner of civil war will rally not only hundreds of thousands of enlightened workers, but also millions of semi-proletarians and petty bourgeois who are now being fooled by chauvinism and who, besides being frightened and benumbed by the horrors of the war, will also be enlightened, taught, aroused, organised, hardened and prepared for a war against the bourgeoisie both of "their own" and of the "foreign" countries.

Overwhelmed by opportunism, the Second International has died. Down with opportunism, and long live the Third International, purged not only of "deserters" (as the *Golos*[45] would wish it) but also of opportunism!

The Second International did its full share of useful preparatory work in the preliminary organisation of the proletarian masses during the long "peaceful" epoch of most cruel capitalist slavery and most rapid capitalist progress in the last third of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Third International is confronted with the task of organising the forces of the proletariat for a revolutionary onslaught on the capitalist governments, for civil war against the bourgeoisie of all countries, for political power, for the victory of Socialism.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 33, November 1, 1914.

ONE GERMAN VOICE ON THE WAR

> . . . In one night the aspect of the world has changed. . . . Every one puts the blame on his neighbour, every one claims to be on the defensive, to act only in a state of urgent defence. Every one, don't you see, defends only his most sacred values, the hearth, the fatherland. . . . National vainglory and national aggressiveness triumph. . . . Even the great international working class obeys national orders, workers are killing one another on the battlefields. . . . Our civilisation has proven bankrupt. . . . Writers of European fame are not ashamed to come forth as raging blind chauvinists. . . . We had too much faith in the possibility of checking imperialist madness by fear of economic ruin. . . . We are going through a naked imperialist struggle for hegemony of the earth. There isn't a trace anywhere of a struggle for great ideas, except perhaps the overthrow of the Russian Minotaur . . . the Tsar and his Grand Dukes who have delivered to the hangmen the noblest men of their country. . . . But do we not see how noble France, the bearer of ideals of liberty, becomes the ally of the Tsar, the hangman? How honest Germany . . . is breaking its word and is choking unhappy neutral Belgium? . . . What will be the end of it all? Should poverty become too great, should despair take the upper hand, should a brother recognise a brother in the military uniform of an enemy, then perhaps something very unexpected may still come, arms may perhaps be turned against those who are inciting people into the war, peoples who were forcibly made to hate one another may perhaps forget it and suddenly unite. We do not want to be prophets, but should the European War bring us one step closer to a European Socialist republic, then this war, after all, will not have been as senseless as it seems to be at present.

WHOSE voice is this? Maybe the voice of a German Social-Democrat? Far from it! The German Social-Democrats with Kautsky at their head have become "miserable counter-revolutionary chatterboxes,"[46] as Marx called those Social-Democrats who, after the publication of the Anti-Socialist Law, behaved "in accord with the circumstances" in the manner of Haase, Kautsky, Südekum and Co., in our days.

No, our quotation is taken from a magazine of petty-bourgeois Christian democrats published by a company of good little ministers in Zurich (*Neue Wege, Blätter für religiöse Arbeit* [*New Ways, Pages for Religious Work*], September, 1914). What a humiliation we have come to: Philistines, believing in God, go as far as saying that it would not be bad to turn arms against those who "incite people into the war," while "authoritative" Social-Democrats like Kautsky "scientifically" defend the meanest chauvinism, or, like

Plekhanov, declare the propaganda of civil war against the bourgeoisie a harmful "Utopia"!

Yes, if such "Social-Democrats" wish to be in the majority and to form the official "International" (an alliance for international justification of national chauvinism), then is it not better to give up the name "Social-Democrats" that has become polluted and degraded by them, and return to the old Marxian name, Communists? Kautsky once threatened to do it when the opportunist Bernsteinists seemed to be near to conquering the German party officially. What in his mouth was an idle threat will perhaps become *action* for others.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 34, December 5, 1914.

DEAD CHAUVINISM AND LIVING SOCIALISM

HOW SHALL THE INTERNATIONAL BE RESTORED?

For the Social-Democrats of Russia, even somewhat more than for the Social-Democrats of the whole world, the German Social-Democracy was a model throughout the last decade. It is therefore obvious that there can be no intelligent, *i. e.*, critical attitude towards social-patriotism or "Socialist" chauvinism now prevailing, if we do not clearly define our attitude toward German Social-Democracy. What was it? What is it? What will it be?

The first question can be answered by *Der Weg zur Macht*, a pamphlet written by K. Kautsky in 1909 and translated into many European languages. It contained the most complete exposition of the tasks of our epoch; it was most advantageous to the German Social-Democrats, because it showed that they were a promising party; and it was written by the most eminent writer of the Second International. We wish to recall that pamphlet in some detail. This will be the more useful now since those "forgotten words" are so often shamelessly rejected.

Social-Democracy, it says, is a "revolutionary party" not only in the sense that a steam engine is revolutionary, but also "in another sense" (first sentence of the pamphlet): namely, it strives for the conquest of political power by the proletariat, for proletarian dictatorship. Showering ridicule on those who "doubt the revolution," Kautsky writes: "Of course, in every important movement and uprising we must reckon with the possibility of defeat. Before the struggle only a fool can think himself entirely certain of victory." It would be, on the other hand, "a direct betrayal of our cause," he says, if we were to refuse to reckon with the possibility of victory. A revolution in connection with a war, he says, is possible both during and after the war. It is not possible to say definitely when the sharpening of class antagonisms would lead to revolution, the author continues, but "I can quite definitely assert that a revolution which war brings in its wake, will break out either during or immediately after the war." There is nothing more vulgar, we read further, than the theory of "peacefully growing into Socialism." "Nothing is more erroneous," he continues, "than the idea that the knowledge of economic necessity would weaken the will." "The will as a desire for struggle," he says, "is determined, first, by the cost of the struggle, second, by the consciousness of power, and third, by the real power." When an attempt was made by the *Vorwärts*, among others, to interpret Engels' famous preface to *Class Struggles in France* in an opportunist spirit, Engels was indignant, branding as shameful the assumption that he was a "peaceful worshipper of legality at any price." "We have every reason to believe that we are entering a period of struggle for state power," he writes further. This struggle may last for decades, he says; this we do not know, but "it will in all probability bring about in the near future a considerable strengthening of the proletariat, if not its dictatorship in Western Europe." The revolutionary elements are growing, Kautsky declares: in 1895 there were six million proletarians and three and a half million people interested in private property out of ten million voters in Germany; in 1907 the number of the latter grew 0.03 million, that of the former 1.6 million! "The tempo of the forward movement becomes very fast as soon as a revolutionary ferment begins." Class antagonisms are not softened, but on the contrary they become acute; the prices of commodities are rising; imperialist competition and militarism are raging. "The new era of revolution" is approaching. The mad growth of taxes would long since have led to war as the only alternative of a revolution, if this very alternative of revolution were not nearer as a consequence of war, than as the outcome of a period of armed peace. A world war is menacingly near, Kautsky continues, and a war also means revolution. In 1891 Engels had reasons to fear a premature revolution in Germany; since then, however, "the situation has materially changed." "The proletariat," says Kautsky, "can no longer speak of a *premature* revolution" (emphasis by Kautsky). The petty bourgeoisie cannot be relied upon and is becoming ever more hostile to the proletariat, but, says the author, in the period of crisis it is "capable of going over to our side in masses." The main thing is, concludes the pamphlet, that Social-Democracy "should remain unshakable, consistent, irreconcilable." There is no doubt, it sums up, that we have entered a revolutionary period.

This is how Kautsky wrote in times long, long past, fully five years ago. This is what German Social-Democracy was, or, more correctly, what it promised to be. This kind of Social-Democracy it was possible and necessary to respect.

See what that same Kautsky is writing now. Here are the most important statements contained in his article "Social-Democracy in War Time" (*Neue Zeit*, No. 1, October 2, 1914): "Our party has much more seldom discussed the question of how to behave in war time than how to prevent war. . . ." "Never is the government so strong, never are the parties so weak, as at the beginning of war." "War time is least of all propitious for peaceful discussion." "The practical question of to-day is the victory or defeat of our own country." Is there a prospect for an understanding among the parties of the belligerent countries as to an anti-war action? Kautsky says no. "This kind of thing has never been tried in practice. We always denied its possibilities. . . ." The difference between the French and German Socialists is "not one of principle" (as both defend their fatherland). "Social-Democrats of all countries have an equal right and duty to participate in the defence of the fatherland; no nation ought to blame the other for doing it. . . ." Has the International become bankrupt? Has the party refused directly to defend its party principles in war time? (Mehring's queries in the same issue.)[47] "This is an erroneous conception," says Kautsky, ". . . there are no grounds at all for such pessimism . . . the differences are not fundamental . . . unity of principles remains . . . to disobey martial laws would simply lead to the suppression of our press." "To obey these laws," says Kautsky, "does not in any way mean to refuse to defend party principles any more than does the similar behaviour of our party press under the Damocles' sword of the Anti-Socialist Law." *

We have purposely quoted the original statements because it is not easy to believe that such things could have been written. It is not easy to find in literature (except in that of downright renegades) such self-satisfied vulgarity, such shameful deviation from the truth, such unsavory evasions to cover up the most flagrant renunciation both of Socialism in general and of the strict international decisions unanimously adopted (as for instance in Stuttgart and particularly in Basle) precisely with a view towards a European war of just the same character as the present war! We do not wish to insult the intelligence of the reader by taking Kautsky's arguments seriously and trying to analyse them. For if the European War in many respects differs from a simple "little" Jewish pogrom, the "Socialist" arguments in favour of participating in such a war *perfectly* coincide with the "democratic" arguments in favour of participating in a Jewish pogrom. One does not analyse arguments in favour of a pogrom; one only points at them in order to place their authors at the pillory in front of all class-conscious workers.

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* Kautsky, "Die Internationale und der Burgfrieden" ["The International and Civil Peace"], *Neue Zeit*, No. 1, October 2, 1914.—*Ed.*

But how *could it happen,* the reader will ask, that the greatest authority of the Second International, a writer who defended the opinions quoted at the beginning of this article, should have sunk to a position which is worse than that of a renegade? This may be incomprehensible, we answer, only for those who, perhaps unconsciously, maintain that nothing in particular has happened, that it is not difficult even now to "make peace and forget," etc., that is to say, for those who look from the renegade's point of view. Those, however, who earnestly and sincerely professed Socialist convictions and who shared the views that have been expressed in the beginning of this article, will not be surprised to hear that the *Vorwärts* is dead, (Martov's expression in the Paris *Golos*[48]) and that Kautsky is dead. The bankruptcy of individual persons is nothing rare in the epochs of great historic cataclysms. Notwithstanding his great merits, Kautsky never belonged to those who at the time of great crises immediately assume a militant Marxist position (let us not forget his vacillations in the question of Millerandism).[49]

It is just such an epoch that we are passing through. "Be the first to shoot, Messrs. Bourgeois!" Engels wrote in 1891, advocating, most correctly, the use of bourgeois legality by us revolutionists in the period of so-called peaceful constitutional development. Engels' idea was perfectly clear: we class-conscious workers, he said, would be the next to shoot; it is more favourable for us to choose the moment for changing the ballots into bullets (to pass to civil war) when the bourgeoisie itself has broken the legal basis created by it. In 1909 Kautsky expressed the undisputed opinion of all revolutionary Social-Democrats when he said that now a revolution in Europe could not be *premature* and that war meant revolution.

Decades of "peaceful" life, however, did not pass without leaving a mark. They inevitably created opportunism in all countries; they secured for it a prevalence among "leaders,"—parliamentarians, union officials, journalists, etc. There is not one country in Europe where, in one form or another, a long and stubborn struggle was not conducted against opportunism, the latter being in millions of ways supported by the whole bourgeoisie which is striving to corrupt and weaken the revolutionary proletariat. Fifteen years ago, at the beginning of the Bernstein controversy, the same Kautsky wrote that if opportunism were to pass from the state of a sentiment to that of a policy, a split would be the order of the day. In Russia, the old *Iskra,* which created the Social-Democratic Party of the working class, wrote in its second issue early in 1901, in an article entitled "On the Threshold of the Twentieth Century," that the revolutionary class of the twentieth century, like the revolutionary class of the eighteenth century, had its own Gironde and its own Mountain.[50]

The European War is the greatest historical crisis; it means the beginning of a new epoch. Like every crisis, the war has sharpened the antagonisms deeply hidden undereneath, has brought them to the surface, tearing apart all the hypocritical cloaks, rejecting all conventionality, destroying all discredited or half-discredited authorities. (This, parenthetically speaking, is the salutary and progressive effect of all crises; it is incomprehensible only to the dull-witted worshipers of "peaceful evolution"). The Second International, which, for the twenty-five to forty-five years of its existence, (according to whether we count from 1870 or from 1889), accomplished the extraordinarily important and useful work of spreading Socialism over large areas and of preparing the initial more rudimentary organisation of Socialist forces, has completed its historic role and has died, not so much at the hands of Von Klucks, as at the hands of opportunism. Let the dead bury their dead. Let the empty-headed busybodies (or, rather, the intriguing lackeys of the chauvinists and opportunists) labour over the task of bringing together Vandervelde and Sembat with Kautsky and Haase, as if we were confronted with another Ivan Ivanovich who has called Ivan Nikiforovich "gander," and who is in need of being urged by his friends to make peace with his opponent.* To have an International does not mean to sit around one table and to have hypocritical and pettifogging resolutions written by people who see genuine internationalism in German Socialists justifying the appeal of the German bourgeoisie to shoot at French workers, and in French Socialists justifying the appeal of the French bourgeoisie to shoot at German workers in the name of the "defence of the fatherland"!!! Internationalism consists in coming together (first ideologically, then in due time also organisationally) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending Socialist internationalism in practice, *i. e.*, to gather their forces and "to be next in shooting" at the governments and the ruling classes of *one's own* "fatherland." This is not an easy task; it will require much preparation, great sacrifices, it will not fail to suffer defeats. But just because it is not an easy task, it must be done in company with those only who *wish* to do it, who are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism.

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* This refers to a story by Gogol where two close friends become temporarily estranged on account of harsh words uttered against each other.—*Ed.*

For a sincere non-hypocritical restoration of a Socialist, and not chauvinist, International, more is being done by such persons as Pannekoek than by any one else. In an article entitled "The Collapse of the International,"[51] Pannekoek said: "If the leaders were to convene and to attempt to patch up their differences, it would be of no value at all."

Let us openly state the facts; the war will *compel* us to do it anyway, if not to-morrow, then the day after. There are three currents in international Socialism: (1) the chauvinists who consistently pursue a policy of opportunism; (2) the consistent enemies of opportunism who in all countries have already begun to make themselves heard (the opportunists have almost everywhere dealt them a staggering blow, but "defeated armies learn fast") and who are capable of leading revolutionary work in the direction of civil war; (3) confused and vacillating elements who at present drag themselves in the wake of the opportunists and who are most harmful to the proletariat by their hypocritical attempts to justify opportunism, which they do (no joke!) almost scientifically and with the use of the Marxian method. Part of those perishing in this last-named current can be saved and restored to Socialism, but only through the policy of a most decisive break and rupture with the first current, with all those who are capable of justifying the vote for appropriations, "the defence of the fatherland," the "submission to martial law," the eagerness to use legal means only, the renunciation of civil war. Only those who follow such a policy do in practice build a Socialist International. We, on our part, having established connections with the Russian bureau of the Central Committee and with the leading elements of the St. Petersburg labour movement, having exchanged opinions with them and become convinced that we are agreed in the main, are in a position, as editors of the Central Organ, to declare in the name of our party that only work conducted in this direction is party work and Social-Democratic work.

A split in German Social-Democracy seems to be an idea which horrifies many by its unusualness. The objective situation, however, is such that either the unusual will happen (it was Adler and Kautsky who, at the last session of the International Socialist Bureau in July, 1914,[52] declared that they did not believe in miracles and therefore did not believe in a European war!) or we shall witness a painful decomposition of what was once German Social-Democracy. For the benefit of those who are too much accustomed to trust German Social-Democracy (its *former* self!) we wish, in conclusion, to mention the fact that the idea of a split begins to dawn upon people who, for many years, have been our opponents in a number of questions. Thus Martov wrote in the *Golos:* "The *Vorwärts* is dead. Social-Democracy which publicly renounces the class struggle would do better to recognise the facts as they are, to disband its organisation for a time, to close its organs." Thus Plekhanov is quoted by the *Golos* as having said in a lecture: "I am very much against splits, but if principles are sacrificed for the maintenance of the organisation, then I prefer a split to false unity." [53] In these words Plekhanov referred to the German radicals: he sees a mote in the eye of the Germans, but he does not see a beam in his own eye. This is his individual peculiarity; we have all become accustomed for the last ten years to Plekhanov's radicalism in theory and opportunism in practice. However, if even persons with *such* individual "oddities" begin to talk of a split among the Germans, it is a sign of the times indeed

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 35, December 12, 1914.

ON THE NATIONAL PRIDE OF THE GREAT-RUSSIANS

So much talk, so much comment, so much noise is being made around nationality and fatherland! Liberal and radical ministers in England, a host of "forward-looking" journalists in France (who have proven to be in full agreement with their reactionary colleagues), a swarm of official Cadets and progressive scribblers in Russia (including some Narodnik and "Marxist" writers—all of them singing in a thousand tunes the praise of the freedom and independence of the "fatherland," the greatness of the principle of national independence. It is impossible to discern the line dividing the venal eulogist of the hangman Nicholas Romanov, or of the mutilators of Negroes and natives of India from the ordinary philistine who, thanks to stupidity or supineness, is swimming "with the current." In truth, such distinction is not important. What we witness is a broad and very deep ideological current whose origins are closely interwoven with the interests of the landowners and the capitalists of the great nations. Tens, nay, hundreds of millions are being spent every year for the propaganda of ideas favourable to those classes. It is quite a sizable mill; everything is grist for it, beginning with Menshikov, a chauvinist by conviction, and ending with chauvinists by opportunism or spinelessness, like all those Plekhanovs and Maslovs, Rubanoviches and Smirnovs, Kropotkins and Burtsevs.

Let us Great-Russian Social-Democrats define our attitudes towards this ideological current. It does not behoove us, representatives of a great nation of Eastern Europe and a goodly portion of Asia, to forget the tremendous significance of the national question, especially in a country which has been rightly named the "prison of peoples"; and particularly at a time when in the East of Europe and in Asia capitalism awakens a whole series of "new," great and small nations to life and self-consciousness; at a moment when the tsarist monarchy has put under arms millions of Great-Russians and "aliens" for the purpose of "solving" a number of national questions in accordance with the interests of the Council of the United Nobility and those of the Guchkovs, Krestovnikovs, Dolgorukovs, Kutlers, Rodichevs.

Are we enlightened Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not! We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise its labouring masses (*i. e.*, nine-tenths of its population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody, are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those acts of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great-Russians; that we have given the world Radishchev, the Decembrists, the déclassé revolutionaries of the seventies; that in 1905 the Great-Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses; that at the same time the Great-Russian muzhik began to grow democratic, began to overthrow the priest and the landlord.

We remember that, half a century ago, the Great-Russian democrat Chernyshevsky, who sacrificed all his life to the cause of the revolution, said: "A miserable nation, a nation of slaves, from top to bottom, only slaves." [54] The open and covert Great-Russian slaves (slaves in relation to the tsarist monarchy) do not like to recall these words. We, however, think that those were words of real love for the motherland; it was love full of sadness due to the absence of revolutionary sentiment among the masses of the Great-Russian population. There was none of it at that time. There is little of it now, but it is already there. We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, too, has created a revolutionary class; that it, too, has proven capable of giving humanity great examples of struggle for freedom and for Socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, great famines, and great servility before the priests, the Tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.

We are filled with national pride, and therefore we *particularly* hate *our* slavish past (in which the noble landowners led the muzhiks into war to stifle the freedom of Hungary, Poland, Persia, China) and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the

Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskys, Purishkeviches that covers with shame our Great-Russian national dignity. It is nobody's fault if he is born a slave, but a slave who is not only alien to the struggle for his freedom but also justifies and eulogises his slavery (for instance, by calling the throttling of Poland, the Ukraine, etc., a "defence of the fatherland" of the Great-Russians) such a slave is a knave and a scoundrel who arouses a just feeling of indignation, contempt and loathing.

"No people can be free which oppresses other peoples." [55] This was said by the greatest representatives of consistent democracy of the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels, who became the teachers of the revolutionary proletariat. We, Great-Russian workers, filled with national pride, wish by all means to have a free and independent, sovereign, democratic, republican, proud Great-Russia, which is to maintain in relation to her neighbours the humane principle of equality, and not the serf principles of privileges that humiliate a great nation. It is because we wish it so that we say: It is impossible to "defend the fatherland" in the twentieth century in Europe, even if it be Far-Eastern Europe, otherwise than by fighting with all revolutionary means against the monarchy, the landowners and the capitalists of *our* fatherland, *i. e.*, against the *worst* enemies of our fatherland; it is impossible for the Great-Russians to "defend the fatherland" otherwise than by wishing defeat for tsarism in every war, this being the lesser evil for nine-tenths of the population of Great-Russia, since tsarism not only oppresses these nine-tenths of the population economically and politically, but it also demoralises, degrades, defiles and prostitutes them by developing in them the habit of oppressing other peoples, by teaching them to cover up their shame with hypocritical, quasi-patriotic phrases.

One will perhaps reply that outside of tsarism and under its wing there has already come into existence and developed another historic force, Great-Russian capitalism, which does progressive work by economically centralising and consolidating tremendous areas. Such an objection does not justify, on the contrary, it still more condemns, our social-chauvinists, who in truth ought to be called tsarist-Purishkevich Socialists (as Marx called the Lassalleans Royal Prussian Socialists! Let us assume that history will decide in favour of the Great-Russian capitalists and against the hundred and one small nations. This is not impossible since the whole history of capital is a history of violence and plunder, blood and filth. We, on our part, are not unconditional advocates of small nations; *other conditions being equal*, we are decidedly for centralisation and against the philistine ideal of federation. But even if this be the case, it is, first, not our business, not the business of democrats (to say nothing of Socialists) to aid Romanov, Bobrinsky, Purishkevich in stifling the Ukraine, etc. Bismarck did, in his own fashion, Junker fashion, an historically progressive thing, but a fine "Marxist" would be the man who, for this reason, would undertake to justify Socialists supporting Bismarck! Still, Bismarck hastened economic development by uniting the Germans who were split into many states and oppressed by other nations, whereas the economic prosperity and the rapid development of Great-Russia demand the liberation of the country from Great-Russian violence perpetrated over other peoples. This difference is being forgotten by our admirers of hundred-per-cent-Russian would-be Bismarcks.

Secondly, if history were to decide in favour of Great-Russian great-nation capitalism, it follows that the greater will be the Socialist role of the Great-Russian proletariat as the main driving power in a Communist revolution generated by capitalism. For this revolution of the proletariat, it is necessary that the workers be educated for a long period of time in the spirit of the *fullest* national equality and brotherhood. It is consequently from the standpoint of the interests of the Great-Russian proletariat that it is necessary continuously to educate the masses in the spirit of the most decisive, consistent, courageous, revolutionary struggle for full rights and for the right of self-determination of nationalities oppressed by the Great-Russians. The national pride of the Great-Russians (understood not in a slavish way) coincides with the *Socialist* interests of the Great-Russian (and all other) proletarians. Our example is Marx who, having for decades lived in England, had become half English, and demanded the freedom and the national independence of Ireland in the interests of a Socialist movement of the English workers.

As to our home-made Socialist chauvinists, Plekhanov, etc., etc., they will prove to be traitors, in that last and hypothetical case which we have just considered, not only to their own motherland, the free and democratic Great-Russia, but also to the proletarian brotherhood of all the peoples of Russia, *i. e.*, to the cause of Socialism.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 35, December 12, 1914.

AND NOW WHAT?

TASKS OF THE WORKERS' PARTIES RELATIVE TO OPPORTUNISM AND SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

THE stupendous crisis within the ranks of European Socialism which came in consequence of the World War has first resulted (as is always the case in great crises) in enormous confusion; then there began to take shape a series of new groupings among the representatives of various currents, shades and views in Socialism; finally, there has been raised, with particular acuteness and insistence, the question of what changes in the *foundations* of Socialist policy follow from the crisis and are demanded by it. These three "stages" were passed, between August and December, 1914, also by the Socialists of Russia in a marked fashion. We all know that at the beginning there was no little confusion; the confusion was increased by the tsarist persecutions, by the behaviour of the "Europeans," by the war alarm. In Paris and Switzerland, where there was the greatest number of political exiles, the greatest number of connections with Russia and the greatest amount of freedom, a new definite line of demarcation between the various attitudes towards the problems raised by the war was being drawn in discussions, at lectures, and in the press during September and October. We may safely say that there is not a single shade of opinion in any current (or faction) of Socialism (and near-Socialism) in Russia which has not been expressed or analysed. Everybody feels that the time is ripe for definite and positive conclusions to become the basis of new, systematic, practical activity in the field of propaganda, agitation, organisation. The situation has become clear, indeed: everybody has expressed himself. Let us now see *who is with whom and whither he is bound.*

On November 23, one day after the publication in Petrograd of a governmental communiqué regarding the imprisonment of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction, in Stockholm,[56] at the conference of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, an occurrence took place which finally and irrevocably placed on the order of the day the two questions just mentioned. The readers will find below a description of this occurrence, namely, a full translation, from the official Swedish Social-Democratic report, of the speeches both of Belenin (representative of the Central Committee) and of Larin (representative of the Organisation Committee)[57] also the debate on the question raised by Branting.

For the first time after the beginning of the war, a representative of our party, of its Central Committee, and a representative of the Liquidationist Organisation Committee, met at a congress of Socialists of a neutral country. How did their speeches differ? Belenin took a most definite stand regarding the grave and painful yet momentous questions of the present-day Socialist movement; referring to the Central Organ of the party, the *Sotsial-Demokrat,* he resolutely declared war against opportunism, branding the behaviour of the German Social-Democratic leaders (and "many others") as *treason.* Larin took no position at all; he passed over the essence of the question in silence, confining himself to those hackneyed, hollow and foul phrases which do not fail to be rewarded with applause by the opportunists and social-chauvinists of all countries. Belenin kept complete silence concerning our attitude towards the other Social-Democratic parties and groups in Russia, as if saying: "This is our position, and as to the others, we shall not express ourselves as yet, we shall wait to see which course they will take." On the other hand, Larin unfurled the banner of "unity," shedding a tear over the "bitter fruits of disunity in Russia," painting with gorgeous colours the "unity work" of the O.C., which, he said, had united Plekhanov and the Caucasians, the Bundists and the Poles, and so forth. Larin's intentions will be treated elsewhere. (See below: "What Unity Has Larin Proclaimed?") What interests us here is the fundamental question of unity.

We have before us two slogans. One is war against the opportunists and social-chauvinists as traitors. Another is unity in Russia, particularly with Plekhanov (who, parenthetically, behaves among us exactly as Südekum * among the Germans, Hyndman among the English, etc.). Is it not obvious that, while afraid to call things by their right names, Larin, in reality, appeared as an advocate of the opportunists and social-chauvinists?

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* Plekhanov's pamphlet, *On the War*[58] (Paris, 1914), which we have just received, proves very convincingly the truth of the assertions made in the text. We shall return to this pamphlet later on.

But let us analyse the meaning of the "unity" slogan in general in the light of the present events. Unity of the proletariat is its greatest weapon in the struggle for a Socialist revolution. From this undisputed truth it undisputedly follows that when a proletarian party is joined by a considerable number of petty-bourgeois elements, which *interfere* with the struggle for a Socialist revolution, unity with such elements is harmful and detrimental to the cause of the proletariat. Present events have proven this very fact that objective conditions for an imperialist war (*i. e.*, a war corresponding to the highest and last stages of capitalism) are ripe; that, on the other hand, decades of a so-called peaceful epoch have allowed a heap of petty-bourgeois opportunist refuse to accumulate *inside* of the Socialist parties of all European countries. Some fifteen years ago, during the famous "Bernstein crusade" in Germany—in many countries even earlier than that—the question of the opportunist, the *foreign*, elements within the proletarian parties had become acute. There is hardly one noted Marxist who has not recognised many times and on different occasions that opportunists are a non-proletarian element actually hostile to the Socialist revolution. The rapid growth of this social element during the last years is a recognised fact; the officials of the legal labour unions, the parliamentarians and the other intellectuals who comfortably and placidly built themselves berths in the legal mass movements, some groups of the best paid workers, office employés, etc., etc., belong to this social stratum. The war has clearly proven that in a crisis (and the imperialist era will undoubtedly be an era of such crises) a substantial mass of opportunists, supported and often directly guided by the bourgeoisie (this is particularly important!) goes over to its camp, betrays Socialism, harms the workers' cause, ruins it. In every crisis the bourgeoisie will always aid the opportunists, will always suppress the revolutionary portion of the proletariat, shrinking before nothing, employing the most lawless and cruel *military* measures. The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution. In peaceful times they conduct their bourgeois work under cover, finding refuge inside of the workers' parties; in times of crisis they appear immediately as open allies of the entire united bourgeoisie from the conservative to the most radical and democratic part of it, from the freethinkers to the religious and clerical sections. He who has not grasped this truth *after* the recent events is hopelessly deceiving himself and the workers. Personal desertions are unavoidable under given conditions, but one must not forget that their significance is determined by the existence of a *group* and *current* of petty-bourgeois opportunists. Such social-chauvinists as Hyndman, Vandervelde, Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky, would be of no importance whatever if their characterless and trite speeches in defence of bourgeois patriotism were not grasped at by whole social strata of opportunists and by hosts of bourgeois papers and bourgeois politicians.

There prevailed in the epoch of the Second International the type of Socialist party that tolerated in its midst an opportunism accumulated through decades of the "peaceful" period, an opportunism that was hiding its real face, adapting itself to the revolutionary workers, *adopting* their Marxian terminology and avoiding a clear demarcation on principles. This type has outlived itself. Suppose the war should end in 1915; is there any one among thinking Socialists who would be willing to undertake in 1916 the restoration of the workers' parties, *including the opportunists, knowing from experience* that in a new crisis all of them (plus many other characterless and confused people) will be for the bourgeoisie, which, of course, will find a pretext to prohibit the mention of class hatred and class struggle?

In Italy, the party was an exception to the rule in the epoch of the Second International: The opportunists, with Bissolati at their head, had been removed from the party. The results, during the present crisis, proved *excellent:* Men of various trends of opinion did not deceive the workers, did not throw into their eyes luxurious flowers of eloquence regarding *unity*, but followed each his own road. Opportunists (including traitors who ran away from the workers' party, like Mussolini) practised social-chauvinism, praising (like Plekhanov) "gallant Belgium" and therewith shielding the policies, not of a gallant, but of a bourgeois Italy which intends to plunder the Ukraine and Galicia . . . no, pardon, Albania, Tunis, etc., etc. At the same time, the Socialists, in opposition to them, waged war against war, preparing *civil* war. We are not at all inclined to idealise the Italian Socialist Party. We do not at all guarantee that it will remain perfectly solid in case Italy enters the war. We do not speak of the future of this party; we speak only of the present. We state the undisputed *fact* that the workers of the majority of the European countries find themselves *deceived* by the *fictitious unity* of opportunists and revolutionists, and that Italy is a happy exception, a country where there is no deception at the present time. The thing that was a happy exception for the Second International must and *will become* a rule for the Third. As long as capitalism persists, the proletariat will always be a close neighbour to the petty bourgeoisie. It is not clever, sometimes, to refuse temporary alliances with it, but *unity* with the opportunists can *at present* be defended only by the enemies of the proletariat or by deceived *routineurs* of the past epoch.

Unity of the proletarian struggle for a Socialist revolution demands now, after 1914, an unconditional separation between the workers' parties and the party of the opportunists. What we understand by opportunism has been clearly said in the Manifesto of the Central Committee (*War and Russian Social-Democracy*.) *

But what do we see in Russia? Is it good or bad for the labour movement of our country to have unity between people who, in one way or another, with more or less consistency, are fighting against chauvinism—both the Purishkevich and the Cadet brand of it—and people who sing in unison with the same chauvinism, like Maslov, Plekhanov and Smirnov? Is it good to have unity between people who act against the war and people who declare that they will not act against the war, like the influential authors of the "Document" (No. 34)? [59] Only those who wish to keep their eyes shut can find difficulty in answering this question.

One may point out that Martov has entered into polemics with Plekhanov in the *Golos* and with a number of other friends and partisans of the Organisation Committee,[60] also that he has battled against social-chauvinism. We do not deny this, and we have ungrudgingly praised Martov in No. 33 of the Central Organ. We should be very glad if Martov would not be "turned around" (see note, "Martov Turns Around"); [61] we would like very much that a decisive anti-chauvinist line should become the line of the Organisation Committee. But this does not depend upon our *wishes, or any one else's for that matter*. What are the objective facts? Firstly, the official representative of the Organisation Committee, Larin, for one reason or another, keeps silent about the *Golos* while mentioning the social-chauvinist, Plekhanov, and also mentioning Axelrod, who wrote one article (in the *Berner Tagwacht* [*Berne Daily Sentinel*])[62] in order not to say a single definite word there.

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* See p. 76.—*Ed.*

We must not forget that, besides his official position, Larin is *more* than geographically close to the influential central group of the Liquidators in Russia. Secondly, there is the European press. In France and Germany, the papers keep quiet about the *Golos* while speaking of Rubanovich, Plekhanov and Chkheidze (the *Hamburger Echo* [*Hamburg Echo*],[63] one of the most chauvinist organs of the chauvinist "Social-Democratic" press of Germany, in its issue of December 12, called Chkheidze an adherent of Maslov and Plekhanov; this was also hinted at by some papers in Russia. It is easily understood that all the conscious friends of the Südekums fully appreciate the ideological aid rendered by Plekhanov to the Südekums). In Russia, millions of copies of bourgeois papers bring the "people" tidings of Maslov—Plekhanov—Smirnov —and no news of the current represented by the *Golos*. Thirdly, we have the experience of the legal workers' press of 1912-1914, which definitely proved that the source of a certain degree of social power and influence manifested by the liquidationist movement is to be found not in the working class but in that group of the bourgeois-democratic intelligentsia which pushed to the front the central group of legalist writers. Witness to the national-chauvinist tendency of this group *as a group* is the whole press of Russia, as revealed in the letters of the Petrograd worker (*Sotsial-Demokrat* Nos. 33-35)[64] and in the "Document" (No. 34). Important personal re-groupings within that group are easily possible, but it is entirely improbable that, as a group, it should *not* be "patriotic" and opportunist.

Such are the objective facts. Reckoning with them, and knowing that it is good for all bourgeois parties craving influence over the workers to have a Left Wing for exhibition (especially when it is not called so officially), we must declare the idea of unity with the Organisation Committee an illusion detrimental to the workers' cause.

The policy of the Organisation Committee which, in far-away Sweden, on November 23, declares its unity with Plekhanov and delivers speeches sweet to the hearts of all social-chauvinists, while in Paris and in Switzerland it does not make its existence known either on September 13 (when the *Golos* appeared) nor on November 23, nor after this to the present time (December 23), is very much like the worst kind of political manœuvring. The hope that the *Otkliki* [*Echo*],[65] scheduled to appear in Zurich, would have an official party character, has been destroyed by a direct statement in the *Berner Tagwacht* (December 12),[66] to the effect that this paper would have *no such* character. (*Apropos,* the editors of the *Golos*[67] declared in No. 52 that to continue at present the split with the Liquidators would be "nationalism" of the worst kind. This phrase, being devoid of grammatical sense, has the one political meaning that it reveals the editors of the *Golos* as preferring unity with the social-chauvinists to a closer relation with those who are irreconcilably hostile to social-chauvinism. The editors of the *Golos* have made a bad choice.)

To make the picture complete, we must say in conclusion a few words about the organ of the Socialists-Revolutionists, *Mysl* [*Thought*],[68] which appears in Paris. This paper also sings the praises of "unity" while shielding (compare the *Sotsial-Demokrat,* No. 34) the social-chauvinism of its party leader Rubanovich, defending the Franco-Belgian opportunists and ministerialists, passing in silence over the patriotic motives of the speeches of Kerensky, one of the extreme radicals among the Russian Trudoviks,* and printing unspeakably hackneyed petty-bourgeois vulgarities on the revision of Marxism in a Narodnik and opportunist direction. The things said about the Socialists-Revolutionists in the resolution of the summer conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1913 have been fully and repeatedly proven by this behaviour of the *Mysl.*

Some Russian Socialists seem to think that internationalism consists in readiness to embrace a resolution containing an international vindication of social-chauvinism of all countries, such as is about to be composed by Plekhanov and Südekum, Kautsky and Hervé, Guesde and Hyndman, Vandervelde and Bissolati, etc. We allow ourselves to think that internationalism consists only in an unequivocal internationalist policy pursued inside the party itself. In company with opportunists and social-chauvinists it is impossible to pursue the true international policy of the proletariat. It is impossible to preach active opposition to war while gathering the forces for the war. To seek refuge in silence, or to wave away this truth which, though bitter, is unavoidable for a Socialist, is detrimental to the labour movement.

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* Labourites—a Populist-Socialist fraction in the Russian Duma consisting mainly of peasant Deputies, with Kerensky as their leader.—*Ed.*

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 36, December 23, 1914.

ANSWER TO BASOK[69]

COPY OF REPLY TRANSMITTED TO TRIA ON JANUARY 12, 1915

DEAR CITIZEN:

Tria has transmitted to me your letter of December 28, 1914. You are obviously mistaken. Ours is the point of view of international revolutionary Social-Democracy, yours is the national-bourgeois point of view. We work for bringing the *workers* of the various (particularly the belligerent) countries closer to each other, whereas you are apparently bringing yourself closer to the bourgeoisie and the government of "your" nation. We are not travelling the same road.

N. LENIN.

Berne, January 12, 1915.
Berne, Ulyanow, Distelwegstrasse 11.

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RUSSIAN SUEDEKUMS

The word Südekum has acquired an appellative significance: It denotes a self-satisfied, unscrupulous opportunist and social-chauvinist. It is a good indication that everybody speaks of the Südekums with contempt. There is, however, only one way for us not to sink into chauvinism while doing this: We must help unmask the *Russian* Südekums as far as it is in our power.

Plekhanov has definitely placed himself at the head of these by his pamphlet, *On the War*. His arguments are a substitution of sophistry for dialectics all along the line. It is sophistry to denounce German opportunism in order to shield French and Russian opportunism. The result is not a struggle against international opportunism, but its support. It is a sophism to bemoan the fate of Belgium while keeping silence about Galicia. It is sophistry to treat equally the era of imperialism (*i. e.*, the era when, according to Marxists generally, objective conditions are ripe for the collapse of capitalism and masses of Socialist proletarians are already in existence), and the era of bourgeois-democratic national movements; in other words, to treat alike an era when the destruction of bourgeois fatherlands by an international revolution of the proletariat is looming up, and an era of their birth and consolidation. It is sophistry to accuse the German bourgeoisie of having disturbed the peace of the world while keeping silence about the prolonged and assiduous preparations for a war against Germany by the bourgeoisie of the "Triple Entente."[70] It is sophistry to evade the Basle resolution. It is sophistry to substitute national-liberalism for Socialism: to say that a victory of tsarism is desirable in the interests of the economic progress of Russia, at the same time failing even to touch upon the question of the oppressed nationalities of Russia, or of the thwarting of Russian economic growth by tsarism, or of the incomparably faster and more successful growth of the productive forces of Germany, and so forth and so on. To analyse all of Plekhanov's sophisms would require a series of articles, and we doubt whether it is worth while to go into many of his ridiculous absurdities. We shall only touch upon one of his quasiarguments. In 1870, Engels wrote to Marx that Wilhelm Liebknecht was mistaken in making anti-Bismarckism his one leading principle.[71] Plekhanov was glad when he found that quotation: The same is true, he argues, in relation to anti-tsarism! But let us try to replace sophistry (*i. e.*, the method of clinging to the outward similarity of cases without a connection between the events) by dialectics (*i. e.*, the method of studying all the concrete circumstances of an event, and its development). The unification of Germany was necessary, and Marx recognised it both before 1848 and after. As early as 1859, Engels straightforwardly called the German people to a war for unification.[72] When revolutionary unification failed, Bismarck did it in a counter-revolutionary Junker fashion. Anti-Bismarckism as the sole principle became absurd since the necessary unification was an accomplished fact. But what about Russia? Did our brave Plekhanov formerly have the courage to declare that the development of Russia demanded the conquest of Galicia, Constantinople, Armenia, Persia, etc.? Has he the courage to say so now? Has he considered the fact that in Germany it was necessary to progress from the national disunity of the Germans (who were oppressed both by France and Russia in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century) to a unified nation; whereas in Russia the Great-Russians have crushed instead of uniting a number of non-Russian nationalities? Having failed to think of these things, Plekhanov covers up his chauvinism by distorting the meaning of Engels' quotation of 1870 in the same fashion as Südekum distorts an 1891 quotation from Engels to the effect that the Germans must wage a life and death war against the allied armies of France and Russia.

In another language, and in quite different surroundings, the same chauvinism is defended by the *Nasha Zarya* [*Our Dawn*], Nos. 7-8-9,[73] where Cherevanin predicts and desires "German defeat," asserting that "Europe [!!] has risen" against Germany; Mr. A. Potresov rails against the German Social-Democrats for their "blunder," which, he says, "is worse than any crime," etc.; he asserts that German militarism is guilty of "special, extraordinary sins," that "not the Pan-Slavic dreams of certain Russian circles were a menace to European peace," etc.

When the legal press thus paints the "extraordinary" guilt of Germany and advocates the necessity of its defeat, does it not sing in unison with Purishkevich and the social-chauvinists? That Russian militarism is guilty of a hundred times more "extraordinary" sins cannot be told under the pressure of the Tsar's censorship. Is it not obvious that people who do not wish to be chauvinists must in such situations refrain at least from speaking of German defeat and of German extraordinary sins?

The *Nasha Zarya* is not only pursuing the line of "non-resistance to the war;" it does more, it greases the wheels of Great-Russian chauvinism, of tsarism and Purishkevich, in that it preaches the defeat of Germany and shields the Pan-Slavists by "Social-Democratic" arguments. One must not forget that none other than the writers of the *Nasha Zarya* conducted a mass propaganda in favour of Liquidationism among the workers in 1912-1914.

Finally, there is Axelrod, whom together with the writers of the *Nasha Zarya*, Martov angrily but unsuccessfully tries to shield, protect and justify.

Axelrod's views were, with his consent, expounded in Nos. 86 and 87 of the *Golos*.[74] Those views are social-chauvinist. Axelrod defends the entrance of the French and Belgian Socialists into the bourgeois cabinets with the following arguments: (1) "Historical necessity, which is often inappropriately referred to nowadays, did not mean to Marx a passive attitude towards concrete evils—in the expectation of a Socialist revolution," says Axelrod. But what does he mean? What confusion! All that happens in history is subject to the law of necessity. This is elementary. The opponents of social-chauvinism do not refer to historical necessity at all, they refer to the *imperialist* character of the war. Axelrod would have us believe that he does not understand this salient point nor the attitude towards a "concrete evil" that follows from it, to wit, that the bourgeoisie is the ruling power in every country and that it is *timely* to start revolutionary actions which lead to a "Socialist revolution." It is the social-chauvinists who are passive when they deny this. (2) It is impossible to ignore the question as to the real initiator of the war, "who has placed all the attacked countries in a position where they must defend their independence," says Axelrod. On the same page, however, he admits that "of course the French imperialists intended to provoke a war in two or three years," but, don't you see, during this time the proletariat would have become stronger, and with it the chances for peace! The truth is that during this time, opportunism, so dear to Axelrod's heart, would have become stronger, and with it the chances for an even more dastardly betrayal of Socialism. The truth is that for *decades* three highway robbers, the bourgeoisie and the governments of England, Russia and France, were arming to sack Germany. Is there anything surprising in the fact that two highway robbers launched an attack before the other three got the new knives they had ordered? Is it not a sophism when the phrases about the "initiators" are used to obliterate the *equal guilt* of the bourgeoisie of all countries, a fact unanimously and undisputedly recognised by all the Socialists at Basle? (3) "To blame the Belgian Socialists for defending their country," says Axelrod, is "not Marxism, but cynicism." This is how Marx labelled Proudhon's attitude towards the Polish uprising of 1863;[75] Marx, beginning from 1848, continually stressed the historic progressiveness of a Polish uprising against tsarism. No one dared to deny that. There was at that time the circumstance of an unsolved national problem in Eastern Europe, *i. e.*, the question of a bourgeois-democratic, not of an imperialist, war against tsarism. This is elementary.

If we wish our attitude towards the Socialist revolution to be neither negative nor mocking nor negligent (as that of the Axelrods), we cannot help the Belgian "country" in this given war without helping tsarism to throttle the Ukraine. This is a fact. For Russian Socialism to evade it is cynicism. To cry about Belgium while keeping silent about Galicia is cynicism.

What should the Belgian Socialists have done? Since they could not accomplish a social revolution together with the French, etc., they had to submit to the majority of the nation at the present moment and go to war. But in submitting to the will of the slave-holding class, they should have put the responsibility on the latter, they should have refrained from voting for appropriations, they should have sent Vandervelde not on ministerial journeys to the exploiters, but to organise (together with the revolutionary Social-Democrats of *all* countries) illegal revolutionary propaganda in favour of a "Socialist revolution" and civil war; they should have conducted the same work in the army, experience having shown that even in the trenches of the fighting armies "fraternisation" of soldier-workers is possible. To prattle about dialectics and Marxism, at the same time being unable to combine the temporary necessity of submission to the majority with revolutionary work under all conditions, means to mock at the workers, to jeer at Socialism. "Citizens of Belgium! Our country has been visited by a great calamity caused by the bourgeoisie of all the countries including Belgium. Do you not wish to overthrow this bourgeoisie? Do you not believe in an appeal to the Socialists of Germany? We are in the minority; I submit to you and go to war, but even in the war I shall preach; I shall prepare the civil war of the proletariat of all the countries because outside of it there is no salvation for the peasants and workers of Belgium and of other countries!" For a speech of this kind, a Belgian or French Deputy would have been put in jail, not in a ministerial chair, but he would have been a Socialist, not a traitor; he would have been talked of in the trenches both by the French and German soldier-workers; he would have been recognised as *their own* leader, not as a traitor to the working class. (4) "As long as fatherlands exist, as long as the life and movement of the proletariat are, as at present, pressed into the framework of the fatherlands, and the proletariat does not feel a different, an international, ground under its feet, the question of patriotism and self-defence will exist for the working class," says Axelrod. The bourgeois fatherlands will exist until destroyed by an international revolution of the proletariat. That there is suitable soil for a revolution was recognised by Kautsky as early as 1909; later on it was unanimously recognised by the Basle Congress and now this is proven by the deep sympathy of the workers of all countries for those who do not vote credits, who are not afraid of prison and other sacrifices connected, by virtue of "historical necessity," with every revolution. Axelrod's phrase is nothing but a *pretext* to avoid revolutionary activity, only a repetition of the arguments of the chauvinist bourgeoisie. (5) The same is true about his assertions that the conduct of the Germans was not a betrayal, that their behaviour was dictated by a "live sentiment, the consciousness of an organic tie with the piece of land, the fatherland, on which the German proletariat lives and works." In reality, the behaviour of the Germans, as well as that of Guesde, etc., is undoubtedly a betrayal; to cover it up and to shield it is unworthy. In reality, it is the bourgeois fatherlands which destroy, cripple, crush, mutilate the "living tie" between the German workers and the German land, creating as they do a "tie" between the slave and the slaveholder. In reality, *only* the destruction of the bourgeois fatherlands can "tie" the workers of all countries with the land, can give them the freedom of their own language, a piece of bread and the blessings of civilisation. Axelrod is merely an apologist for the bourgeoisie. (6) To persuade the workers to be "cautious" when such "proven Marxists as Guesde," etc., are accused of opportunism, means to preach to the workers servility towards their leaders. "Learn from the example of Guesde's whole life," we would say to the workers, "*except* his open betrayal of Socialism in 1914. There may be found personal and other circumstances mitigating his guilt, but this is not a question of the guilt of persons; we are interested in the Socialist meaning of events." (7) To refer to the "formal" admissibility of participating in the cabinets, on the ground that there exists somewhere some minute point of a resolution mentioning "exceptionally important cases,"[76] is equal to the most dishonest pettifogging of lawyers, since this little point was obviously intended to *aid* an international revolution of the proletariat, and not to *counteract* it. (8) Axelrod's assertion that "the defeat of Russia, while unable to hamper the organic development of the country, would help liquidate the old regime," is true when taken by itself, but when used to justify the German chauvinists it is nothing but an attempt to *curry favour with* the Südekums. To recognise the usefulness of Russian defeat without openly accusing the German and Austrian Social-Democrats of betraying Socialism means *in reality* to help them whitewash themselves, extricate themselves from a difficult situation, betray the workers. Axelrod's article is a double bow, one before the German social-chauvinists, another before the French. Taken together, these bows constitute the typical "Russo-Bundist" social-chauvinism.

Let the readers now judge the consistency of the *Golos* editors who, in printing these revolting arguments of Axelrod, express their disagreement only with "some of his ideas" while in the editorial of No. 96 of their paper, they preach a "sharp break with the elements of active social-patriotism."[77] Are the editors of the *Golos* so naive, or so inattentive, that they do not see the truth? Do they not see that Axelrod's reasonings are, *from beginning to end*, "elements of active" (the activity of a writer being his writings) "social-patriotism"? And what about the writers of the *Nasha Zarya*, Messrs. Cherevanin, A. Potresov and Co.; are they not elements of active social-patriotism?

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UNDER A STOLEN FLAG[78]

In No. 1 of the *Nashe Dyelo* (Petrograd, January, 1915)[79] there was published a very characteristic, programmatic article by Mr. A. Potresov, entitled "On the Border Line of Two Epochs." Like a former article by the same author, published somewhat earlier in one of the magazines, the present article propounds the fundamental views of a whole bourgeois trend of public thought in Russia, namely, the Liquidationist trend, on the important and absorbing questions relating to the current political moment. Strictly speaking, we have before us not articles but a manifesto of a certain orientation, and the man who reads them carefully and absorbs their meaning realises that only considerations of an accidental nature, having nothing to do with the interests of literature, prevented the ideas of the author (and of his friends, because the author does not stand alone) from being expressed in the more appropriate form of a declaration or *credo*.

A. Potresov's main idea is that modern democracy finds itself on the boundary line dividing two epochs, the fundamental difference between the old epoch and the new consisting in a transition from national seclusion to internationalism. Under modern democracy, A. Potresov understands that which is characteristic for the very end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in contradistinction to the old bourgeois democracy which was characteristic of the end of the eighteenth and the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

At first glance, it may seem that the author's idea is absolutely correct; it may seem that we have before us an opponent of the *national-liberal* tendency predominant in modern democracy, that the author is an *internationalist*, not a national-liberal.

And, indeed—this defence of internationalism, this reference to national self-sufficiency and national exclusiveness as traits of an old, vanished epoch, is it not a decided break with the epidemic of national-liberalism, with this cancer of modern democracy or, more correctly, of its official representatives?

At first glance, it not only may, but almost inevitably must, appear so. Still, it would be a fundamental error to think so. The author drives his cargo under a stolen flag. He has applied—whether consciously or unconsciously does not matter in this case—a little military ruse; he has hoisted the flag of "internationalism" in order more securely to transport under this flag the contraband cargo of national-liberalism. For A. Potresov is an unalloyed liberal. The core of his article (and his programme, his platform, his "credo") consists in applying this little, if you wish even innocent, military ruse, in carrying opportunism under the flag of internationalism. One must dwell in all detail on explaining this manœuvre, for the question is of tremendous, first-rate importance. A. Potresov's use of a stolen flag is the more dangerous since he covers himself not only with the principle of "internationalism" but also with the title of an adherent of "Marxist methodology." In other words, A. Potresov pretends to be a true follower and exponent of Marxism, whereas in reality he substitutes national-liberalism for Marxism. A. Potresov tries to "correct" Kautsky, accusing him of "advocacy," *i. e.*, of defending now the liberalism of one colour, now of another colour, that is to say, the liberalism of the colours of various nations. A. Potresov pretends to contrast national-liberalism (for it is entirely beyond doubt or question that Kautsky has become a national-liberal) with internationalism and Marxism. In reality A. Potresov contrasts *multi-coloured* nationalism with national-liberalism of *one colour*, whereas Marxism is hostile—and for the present historic situation it is absolutely hostile—to any national-liberalism.

The present essay intends to show that it is so and why.

I

The pivotal point of A. Potresov's misadventures which led to his sailing under a national-liberal flag, can be best understood when the reader examines the following passage of his article:

> . . . With their [Marx's and his comrades'] characteristic temperament they attacked the problem, no matter how difficult it was—Potresov says—they diagnosed the conflict, they attempted to establish *the success of which side* opens broader vistas for the possibilities that are desirable from their point of view; thus they establish a certain basis for defining their tactics [p. 73, emphasis ours].

"The success of which side is more desirable," this is, according to Potresov, what has to be established; it has to be done not from a national, but from an international point of view. This is the essence of the Marxian methodology. This is what, according to Potresov, Kautsky does not do, thus changing from a "judge" (a Marxian) into an "advocate" (a national-liberal). Potresov himself is profoundly convinced that he is not acting as an "advocate" when he stands for the desirability of the success of one side (namely, his own side), that, on the contrary, he is guided by truly international consideration relative to the "extraordinary" sins of the other side.

Potresov, Maslov, Plekhanov, and others are guided by truly international considerations, and still they all arrive at the same conclusions as Potresov. It is as naive as. . . . However, let us not anticipate conclusions; let us first finish the analysis of the purely theoretical question.

Marx established "the success of which side is more desirable" in the Italian war of 1859. A. Potresov dwells on this example which, he says, "due to some of its characteristics, has a special interest for us." On our part, we are also willing to take the example chosen by A. Potresov.

In 1859 Napoleon III declared war against Austria, allegedly for the liberation of Italy, in reality for his own dynastic aims.

"Behind the back of Napoleon III," says A. Potresov, "one could detect the figure of Gorchakov, who had just concluded a secret agreement with the French emperor." There was, apparently, a network of contradictions: on the one hand the most reactionary European monarchy oppressing Italy, on the other hand the representatives of revolutionary Italy, including Garibaldi, fighting for its liberation, hand in hand with the arch reactionary, Napoleon III, etc. "Would it not have been simpler," says Potresov, "to step aside, to say 'both are worst'? However, neither Engels, nor Marx, nor Lassalle were lured by the 'simplicity' of such a decision, but started to investigate the problem" (A. Potresov means to say, to study and analyse the problem), "which outcome of the conflict might offer the greatest chances for the cause that was dear to all of them."

In disagreement with Lassalle, Marx and Engels came to the conclusion that Prussia must interfere. Among other considerations, Potresov himself admits, there were those "of the possibility, as a result of a conflict with the enemy coalition, of a national movement in Germany which might develop over the heads of its numerous rulers; there was also the consideration as to which power in the concert of European powers represented the central evil: whether the reactionary Danubian monarchy or other outstanding representatives of this concert."

"It is not important for us," Potresov concludes, "which was right, Marx or Lassalle; what is important is the fact that all agreed on the necessity of establishing, from an international point of view, the success of which side was more desirable."

This is the example quoted by A. Potresov; this is the argument of our author. If Marx was then able "to evaluate international conflicts" (A. Potresov's expression) notwithstanding the extreme reactionary character of the government of *both* belligerent sides, then Marxists at present also are obliged to make a similar evaluation, concludes A. Potresov.

This conclusion is either naive childishness or a crass sophism, since it reduces itself to this: that because in 1859 Marx was solving the problem as to the desirability of the success of one or the other bourgeoisie, therefore we, more than half a century later, must solve the problem in the very same way.

A. Potresov *has not noticed* that for Marx in 1859 (and in a series of later cases) to answer "the success of which side is more desirable" meant to answer "the success of which *bourgeoisie* is more desirable."[80] A. Potresov *has not noticed* that this question was being solved by Marx at a time when there were present—and occupying the forefront of the historical process in the most important states of Europe—undoubtedly *progressive bourgeois* movements. In our days it would be ridiculous even to think of a progressive bourgeoisie, of a progressive bourgeois movement in connection, for instance, with the outstanding central figures of the European "concert" such as England and Germany. The old bourgeois "democracy" of those central and most important state formations has become reactionary. A. Potresov has "forgotten" this when he has substituted the point of view of the *old* (bourgeois) quasi-democracy for the point of view of the modern (non-bourgeois) democracy. This shifting to the point of view of another class, an old outlived class besides, is purest opportunism. That such a shift cannot be justified by the analysis of the objective meaning of the historical process in the old and new epoch, there can be not the slightest doubt.

It is the bourgeoisie, for instance in Germany, but also in England, that tries to accomplish a substitution like that accomplished by A. Potresov, namely, to substitute for the imperialist epoch an epoch of bourgeois-progressive, national-democratic movements for liberation. A. Potresov uncritically trails after the bourgeoisie. This is the more unforgivable since Potresov himself, in his selected example, had to admit and to indicate what considerations guided Marx, Engels, and Lassalle in that long past epoch.*

Those considerations were, first, for the *national* movement (of Germany and Italy)—a desire that they develop over the heads of the "representatives of medievalism"; second, considerations of the "central evil" of the reactionary monarchies (the Austrian, the Napoleonic, etc.) in the European concert of powers.

These considerations are perfectly clear and cannot be disputed. Marxists never denied the progressivism of bourgeois national movements for liberation directed against feudal and absolutist powers. A. Potresov cannot fail to know that there is nothing, and there could be *nothing like this* in the central, *i. e.*, the major, the most important conflicts between the states of our epoch. At that time there were, both in Italy and in Germany, popular movements for national liberation that had lasted for *decades*. At that time the western bourgeoisie did not support with its finances certain backward state formations; on the contrary, those formations were *really* "the central evil." A. Potresov cannot fail to know—as he admits in that same article—that in our epoch not one of the backward state formations is or can be the "central evil."

The bourgeoisie (for instance in Germany, though not in that country alone) is attempting, for selfish reasons, to revive the ideology of national movements; it strives to shift it from the epoch of imperialism into quite a different epoch. As usual, the opportunists trail after the bourgeoisie, *relinquishing* the point of view of *modern* democracy and shifting to the point of view of the *old* (bourgeois) democracy. This is the original sin of all the articles, as well as of the position and policy, of A. Potresov and his Liquidationist associates. In an epoch when the *old* (bourgeois) democracy was in the forefront, Marx and Engels were trying to find out the success of which bourgeoisie was more desirable; their aim was to develop a modestly liberal movement into a tempestuous democratic one. A. Potresov in our time, when *modern* (non-bourgeois) democracy is in the forefront, preaches bourgeois national-liberalism when one cannot even think of bourgeois progressive movements, whether modestly liberal or tempestuously democratic, as far as England, or Germany, or France are concerned. Marx and Engels moved *ahead* of their epoch, the epoch of bourgeois national progressive movements; they strove to give impetus to those movements so that they might develop "over the heads" of the representatives of medievalism.

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* *Apropos*, A. Potresov refuses to decide whether Marx or Lassalle was right in appraising the conditions of the War of 1859. We think that (despite Mehring) Marx was right, whereas Lassalle was then, as well as during his flirting with Bismarck, an opportunist. Lassalle was adapting himself to the victory of Prussia and Bismarck, to the absence of sufficient strength on the part of the democratic national movements of Italy and Germany. Thus Lassalle deviated in the direction of a national-liberal labour policy, whereas Marx encouraged and developed an independent, consistently democratic policy hostile to national-liberal cowardice (Prussia's interference in the War of 1859 against Napoleon would have stimulated the movement of the people of Germany). Lassalle cast glances, not down, but up, being fascinated by Bismarck. Bismarck's success by no means justifies Lassalle's opportunism.

A. Potresov, like all the social-chauvinists, moves backwards away from the epoch of modern democracy, jumping over to the obsolete, dead, and therefore intrinsically false point of view of the old bourgeois democracy.

This is why the following appeal, directed by A. Potresov to democracy, represents the greatest confusion and the greatest reactionary phenomenon:

> . . . Do not go backward, go ahead, not towards individualism, but towards international consciousness in all its entirety and in all its vigour. To go ahead means, in a certain sense, to go also back—back to Engels, Marx, Lassalle, to their method of evaluating international conflicts, to their inclusion of international state action into the general circle of democratic utilisation.

A. Potresov drags modern democracy *backward* not "in a certain sense" but in all senses; he drags it back to the slogans and ideology of the old bourgeois democracy, to the dependence of the masses upon the bourgeoisie. Marx's method consists, first of all, in taking stock of the *objective* meaning of a historic process at a certain given moment, in given, concrete surroundings; this is done in order, first of all, to realise which class, through its movement, is the mainspring of possible progress in those concrete surroundings. In 1859 the objective meaning of the historic process in continental Europe was, not imperialism, but bourgeois movements for national liberation. The mainspring was the movement of the bourgeoisie against the feudal and absolutist forces. Fifty-five years later, when the place of the old, reactionary, feudal lords has been taken by the not dissimilar magnates of finance capital of the decrepit bourgeoisie, the wise A. Potresov wishes to evaluate international conflicts from the point of view of the *bourgeoisie* and not from the point of view of the *new class.**

A. Potresov has not grasped the full meaning of the truth which he uttered in the above words. Supposing that two countries are at war in the epoch of bourgeois national movements for liberation. Which country shall we wish success from the point of view of modern democracy? Obviously, the one whose success would give impetus to, and would aid, the tempestuous development of the bourgeois movement for liberation; the one which will more strongly undermine feudalism. Supposing now that the *determining feature* of the objective historic circumstances has changed, that capital striving for national liberation has been replaced by international, reactionary, imperialist, finance capital. Assuming that the first country possesses three-fourths of Africa, whereas the second possesses one-fourth, and that the objective meaning of their war is the redivision of Africa. Which side should we wish success? This is a question which, if put in this old form, is absurd, since the old criteria of judgment have disappeared: There is neither a long development of the bourgeois movement for liberation, nor a long process of collapse of feudalism. It is not the business of modern democracy either to help the first country to assert its "right" to three-fourths of Africa, or to help the second country (even if it were to develop economically faster than the former) to take away those three-fourths.

Modern democracy will remain faithful to itself only if it does not join one or the other imperialist bourgeoisie, if it says that "both are worst," if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country. Every other decision will in reality be national-liberal and entirely foreign to true internationalism.

Let the reader not be deceived by the high-flown terminology of A. Potresov by which he covers up his shifting to the point of view of the bourgeoisie. When A. Potresov exclaims: "Not towards individualism, but towards international consciousness in all its entirety and in all its vigour," he has in mind to contrast his own point of view to that of Kautsky. Kautsky's view (and that of others like him) he calls "individualism," bearing in mind that Kautsky refuses to decide "the success of which side is more desirable," that Kautsky justifies the national-liberalism of the workers of each individual country. We, on the contrary, he says, we, A. Potresov, Cherevanin, Maslov, Plekhanov, and others, appeal to the "international consciousness in all its entirety and vigour," for we stand for the national-liberalism of one definite colour, not because we assume the point of view of an individual state (or an individual government) but because we assume a truly international point of view. This line of reasoning would be funny if it were not so shameful.

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* "It was during that period of alleged stagnation," Potresov says, "that tremendous molecular processes took place in every country; also international surroundings were being transformed, the *determining* feature becoming the policy of colonial acquisition, of militant imperialism."

Both A. Potresov and Co. and Kautsky are trailing after the bourgeoisie, having betrayed the point of view of the class which they try hard to represent.

II

A. Potresov has entitled his article "On the Border-line of Two Epochs." We are undoubtedly living on the border-line of two epochs, and historic events of the greatest importance that are taking place before our eyes can be understood only if, in the first place, we analyse the objective conditions of the transition from one epoch to the other. We are dealing here with large historic epochs; there are, and there will be in every age, individual, partial, backward and forward movements; there are and there will be various deviations from the average type and average tempo of the movement. We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historic movements of a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know *which class* occupies the centre of one or the other epoch, determining its main contents, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historic circumstances of that epoch, etc. Only on this basis, *i. e.*, by taking into account, in the first place, the fundamental distinguishing features of the various "epochs" (and not individual episodes in the history of individual countries) can we correctly determine our tactics; and only the knowledge of the fundamental features of a given epoch can serve as a basis for understanding in greater detail the peculiarities of one or the other country.

It is in this realm that both A. Potresov's and Kautsky's main sophism, or their fundamental historical error, lies (Kautsky's article was published in the same issue of the *Nashe Dyelo* [*Our Cause*]),[81] the error that leads both of them to national-liberal and not to Marxian conclusions.

The trouble is that Potresov's example which, as he says, presented a "special interest for him," namely, the example of the Italian campaign of 1859, as well as a number of *similar* historic examples advanced by Kautsky, "*do not* belong to those historical epochs" on the border-line of which we live. Let us call the epoch which we are entering (or which we have entered, and which is at its initial stage) the modern or Third Epoch. Let us call that which we have just emerged from, yesterday's or the Second Epoch. Then we will have to call that epoch from which A. Potresov and Kautsky draw their examples, the epoch of day-before-yesterday, or the First Epoch. Both A. Potresov's and Kautsky's revolting sophism, the intolerable lie of their arguments consists in their substituting for the conditions of the Modern (Third) Epoch conditions of the day-before-yesterday's (First) Epoch.

Let us explain what we mean.

The usual division of historical epochs, many times quoted in Marxian literature, many times repeated by Kautsky and adopted by Potresov in his article, is this: (1) 1789-1871; (2) 1871-1914; (3) 1914—?. Of course, the lines of demarcation are here, as all lines in nature and society, conditional and mobile, relative and not absolute. We take the most outstanding and striking historic events only approximately, as milestones of great historic movements. The First Epoch, from the great French Revolution to the Franco-Prussian War, is the epoch of the rise of the bourgeoisie, of its full victory. This is the ascending line of the bourgeoisie, the epoch of bourgeois-democratic movements in general, of bourgeois-national movements in particular, an epoch of a rapid breakdown of the obsolete feudal absolutist institutions. The Second Epoch is the epoch of the full domination and decline of the bourgeoisie, an epoch of transition from the progressive character of the bourgeoisie to reactionary, even rabidly reactionary, finance capital. This is the epoch when there are being prepared and there slowly gather the forces of a new class of modern democracy. The Third Epoch, which is just beginning, places the bourgeoisie in the same "position" as that in which the feudal lords found themselves during the First Epoch. This is the epoch of imperialism and imperialist convulsions resulting from the nature of imperialism.

It was none other than Kautsky who, in a series of articles and in his pamphlet, *Der Weg zur Macht* (which appeared in 1909), outlined with full clarity the fundamental features of the coming Third Epoch, who noted the fundamental differences between this epoch and the Second (that of yesterday), who recognised the change in the immediate tasks as well as in the conditions and forms of struggle of modern democracy, a change flowing from the changed objective historical conditions. Now Kautsky burns his gods of yesterday. He changes front in the most incredible, most unbecoming, most shameless fashion. In the above-mentioned pamphlet he unequivocally speaks of the symptoms of an approaching war, and specifically of a war like that which took place in 1914. It would be sufficient to place opposite each other a series of passages from that pamphlet and from his present writings to show convincingly how he betrayed his own convictions and solemn declarations. Kautsky is in this respect not an individual case (not even a German case), but he is a typical representative of a whole top layer of modern democracy which, at the moment of crisis, has deserted to the side of the bourgeoisie.

All historical examples quoted by A. Potresov and Kautsky belong to the First Epoch. The main objective contents of the historical phenomena of the war, not only of 1855, 1859, 1864, 1866, 1870, but also of 1877 (The Russo-Turkish War) and 1896-1897 (the war between Turkey and Greece and the Armenian uprisings) were bourgeois national movements, convulsions of bourgeois society freeing itself from various aspects of feudalism. There could have been no thought at that time about a really independent action of *modern* democracy, which fits the epoch of over-ripeness and decay of the bourgeoisie in a number of the leading countries. The main class which then, during the wars and participating in the wars, moved on an ascending line, and which alone could march with overwhelming force against the feudal absolutist institutions, was the bourgeoisie. In various countries, represented by various strata of *propertied* producers of commodities, this bourgeoisie was progressive in various degrees, sometimes (like part of the Italian bourgeoisie in 1859) even revolutionary. The common feature of the epoch, however, was the progressivism of the bourgeoisie, *i. e.*, its as yet undecided, unfinished struggle against feudalism. It was perfectly natural that the elements of modern democracy, with Marx as their representative, should have been guided by the undisputed principle of supporting the progressive bourgeoisie (the bourgeoisie capable of fighting) against feudalism, that they should have decided at that time, "the success of which side," *i. e.*, of which bourgeoisie, was more desirable. The movement of the people in the main countries touched by the war was at that time generally democratic, *i. e.*, bourgeois-democratic by its economic and class contents. It is quite obvious that *no other question* could have been raised at that time outside of the question: the success of which bourgeoisie, the success of which combination of forces, the failure of which reactionary forces (feudal absolutist forces hampering the rise of the bourgeoisie) promised more "elbow room" for modern democracy.

Even then Marx, as A. Potresov was forced to admit, was guided, in "evaluating" international conflicts on the basis of bourgeois national movements for liberation, by considerations as to whose success was more able to contribute to the "development" of national and general popular democratic movements (p. 74 of A. Potresov's article), which means that during military conflicts on the basis of the rise of the bourgeoisie to power within the various nationalities, Marx was most of all concerned, as in 1848, with broadening the scope of and sharpening the bourgeois democratic movement through the participation of broader and more "plebeian" masses, the petty bourgeoisie in general, the peasantry in particular, and then the propertyless classes as a whole. This concern of Marx, about widening the social base of the movement and developing it, forms the basic difference between the consistently democratic tactics of Marx and the inconsistent tactics of Lassalle, which gravitated towards a union with the national-liberals.

The international conflicts in the Third Epoch have, as far as the form is concerned, remained the same international conflicts as in the First Epoch, but their social contents, their class contents have fundamentally changed. The objective historical surroundings have become entirely different.

In place of the struggle of rising capital striving towards national liberation from the remnants of feudalism, there has come the struggle of the most reactionary finance capital against the new forces, the struggle of a power that has exhausted and outlived itself, that is headed downward towards decay. The bourgeois-national framework of states, which in the First Epoch was a support to the *development* of the productive forces of humanity then in the process of liberating itself from feudalism, has now, in the Third Epoch, become a *hindrance* to the free development of the productive forces. From a rising, progressive class the bourgeoisie has become a sinking, decaying, internally dead, reactionary class. The rising class—on a wide international scale—has become an entirely different one.

A. Potresov and Kautsky have relinquished the point of view of this class, they have moved backward when they repeated the lying bourgeois assertion to the effect that *even now* the objective contents of the historical process was the progressive movement of the bourgeoisie against feudalism. In reality, it is absolutely out of the question that *modern* democracy should trail behind the *reactionary* imperialist bourgeoisie, no matter of what "colour" it may be.

The objective task in the first period was to find out how the progressive bourgeoisie should *utilise* international conflicts in its struggle against the *chief* representatives of dying feudalism, so that the world democratic bourgeoisie as a whole might obtain a maximum gain. At that time, in the First Epoch, more than half a century ago, it was natural and imperative that the bourgeoisie, enslaved by feudalism, should wish failure to "its" feudal oppressor. The number of such chief and central feudal fortresses of European importance was not at all large at that time. This is why Marx "evaluated" the conflicts, finding out in which country, under given concrete circumstances, the success of the bourgeois movement for liberation was more *important* for the purpose of undermining the *all-European* feudal might.

Now, in the Third Epoch, there are no more feudal fortresses of a general European importance. Of course, it is the task of modern democracy, too, to "utilise" conflicts, but this *international* utilisation must, contrary to A. Potresov and Kautsky, be directed not against this or that national finance capital, but against international finance capital. The conflicts must be utilised not by that class which 50 to 100 years ago was rising. At that time the order of the day was "international action" (A. Potresov's expression) of the most advanced bourgeois democracy; at present there has historically arisen and there has been advanced by the objective situation a similar task for another class.

III

The Second Epoch, or as A. Potresov expresses himself, "the forty-five years long stretch" (1870-1914), he characterises very incompletely. The same incompleteness is the fault of the characterisation of that epoch by Trotsky [82] in his German work, although Trotsky does not agree with the practical conclusions of A. Potresov (which, of course, is to the credit of the former as compared to the latter). Both writers hardly realise the reason for being close to each other in a certain way.

Of this epoch, which we have named the Second or that of yesterday, A. Potresov says:

> On the one hand, limitation of work and struggle to details; on the other, all-pervading gradualness; those two landmarks of the epoch, by some elevated to the degree of principle, to others became the customary fact of their being, and as such entered as an element into their psyche, as a shade of their ideology (71). Its [this epoch's] talent for cautiously moving ahead according to a well-conceived and consistently executed plan had as its concomitant, first, a pronounced lack of adaptability to the moments of disrupted gradualness and to catastrophic phenomena of every kind, second, an absolute secludedness inside the circle of national action, of national surroundings (72) . . . "Neither revolution, nor war (70) . . ." Democracy became the more effectively nationalist the more the period of its "position struggle" was protracted, the longer there lingered on the stage that stretch of European history which knew of no international conflicts in the heart of Europe, which consequently did not experience unrest reaching beyond the boundaries of national state territories, and did not feel sharply any interests on a general European or world scale (75-76).

The chief fault of this characterisation, as of a similar characterisation of the same epoch by Trotsky, consists in the unwillingness to see and recognise the deep internal contradictions inherent in modern democracy, which has developed on the above-described soil. It appears as if modern democracy of a given epoch was to remain a united whole, something which as a unit was being permeated by gradualness, became national, grew unaccustomed to the disruptions of gradualness and catastrophes, became insignificant and mildewed.

In reality this could not happen, since side by side with the above-indicated tendencies there undoubtedly operated other tendencies of a contrary nature; there was going on an internationalisation of the working masses—the drawing power of the cities and the leveling of living conditions in the large cities of the whole world, the internationalisation of capital, the mingling in the largest factories of city and village, native and foreign populations, etc.—there was going on a sharpening of the class conflicts, the businessmen's associations exercising a greater pressure on the labour unions, sharper and graver forms of struggle were introduced, for instance, in the forms of mass strikes, the cost of living becoming higher, the pressure of finance capital becoming intolerable, etc., etc.

Things, in reality, did not happen in the way they are described by A. Potresov. This we know definitely. There has not been a single one among the large capitalist countries of Europe which during that epoch was spared the struggle between the two mutually contradictory currents inside of modern democracy. Notwithstanding the general "peaceful," "sluggish," somnolent character of the epoch, this struggle sometimes assumed in every one of the great countries the most violent forms, including splits. Those contradictory currents have left their stamp on all the multifarious realms of life, on all the questions of modern democracy without exception, such as attitude towards the bourgeoisie, alliances with liberals, voting for appropriations, attitude towards colonial policies, towards reforms, towards the character of economic struggle, towards the neutrality of the trade unions, etc.

The "all-pervading gradualness" was by no means the exclusively dominant sentiment of all modern democracy, as can be inferred from A. Potresov's and Trotsky's writings. No, this gradualness was crystallising into a definite political line, which was quite often creating in Europe of that period separate factions, sometimes even separate parties of modern democracy. This line had its own leaders, its press organs, its actions, its separate and separately organised method of influencing the masses of the population. Moreover, this line was basing itself more and more—and finally it based itself solidly—on the interests of a certain social stratum *inside* modern democracy.

The "all-pervading gradualness" has naturally drawn into the ranks of modern democracy a number of petty-bourgeois sympathisers; furthermore, petty-bourgeois living conditions and, in consequence thereof, also petty-bourgeois political orientation became the rule for a certain stratum of parliamentarians, journalists, officials of union organisations; a peculiar bureaucracy and aristocracy of the working class were arising, being more or less pronounced, more or less clearly separated.

Take, for instance, the possession of colonies, the extension of colonial possessions. This was undoubtedly one of the features of the above-described epoch in a majority of large states. What did it signify economically? It signified a certain accumulation of super-profits and special privileges of the bourgeoisie. It signified, further, the possibility of receiving crumbs from this cake also for a small minority of the petty bourgeois, also of the better situated employés, officials of the labour movement, etc. That an insignificant minority of the working class in England, for instance, was "enjoying" crumbs from colonial advantages, from privileges, is an established fact, as recognised and indicated by Marx and Engels. That phenomenon, however, which in former times was confined to England alone, became common to all the great capitalist countries of Europe, when those countries began to possess colonies of large dimensions, and in general when the imperialist period of capitalism grew and developed.

In a word, the "all-pervading gradualness" of the Second (or yesterday's) Epoch created not only a certain lack of "adaptability to the disruptions of gradualness," as A. Potresov thinks, not only certain "possibilist" inclinations, as Trotsky declares, but it created a whole opportunist *line of policy* based on a definite social stratum inside of modern democracy, bound to the bourgeoisie of its own national "colour" by numerous threads of common economic, social, and political interests, a line directly, openly, consciously, and systematically hostile to any idea of a "disruption of gradualness."

The root of a number of tactical and organisational errors on the part of Trotsky (not to speak of A. Potresov) lies in his fear or unwillingness or incapability of recognising this fact of the full maturity of an opportunist line, also its intimate and indissoluble connection with the national-liberals (or social-nationalism) of our days. In practice this failure to recognise this fact of "maturity" and this indissoluble connection leads at best to complete confusion and helplessness as regards the predominating social-nationalist (or national-liberal) evil.

The connection between opportunism and social-nationalism is, generally speaking, denied by Potresov, Martov, Axelrod, V. Kossovsky (who has talked himself into defending the national-liberal vote of the German Democrats for military appropriations) and Trotsky.

Their main "argument" is that there is no full coincidence between yesterday's division of democracy "along the line of opportunism" and to-day's present division "along the line of social-nationalism." This argument is, first, incorrect in point of fact, as we shall presently prove, secondly, it is too one-sided, untenable from the standpoint of Marxian principles. Persons and groups may shift from one side to the other; this is not only possible, it is even unavoidable in every great social "shake-up"; this, however, does not at all change the character of a certain *trend;* neither does the ideological connection of certain trends, or their *class meaning*, change. It would seem that all these considerations are so generally known and undisputed that one almost feels embarrassed to refer to them. These considerations, however, have been forgotten by the above writers. The fundamental class significance —or to term it otherwise, the social-economic contents—of opportunism consists in the fact that certain elements of modern democracy have shifted (in fact, *i. e.*, even while they may not be conscious of it) to the side of the bourgeoisie in a series of individual questions. Opportunism is liberal labour politics. Whoever is afraid of the "factional" appearance of these expressions would do well to take upon himself the labour of studying the opinions of Marx, Engels, and Kautsky (isn't the latter especially appropriate for the opponents of "factionalism"?) concerning, let us say, English opportunism. The result of such a study would undoubtedly be the recognition of the fundamental and essential coincidence between opportunism and liberal labour politics. The fundamental class meaning of social-nationalism of our days is exactly the same. The fundamental *idea* of opportunism is an alliance or a coming together (sometimes an agreement, a *bloc*, etc.) of the bourgeoisie with its antipode. The fundamental idea of social-chauvinism is exactly the same. The ideological and political affinity, connection, even identity of opportunism and social-chauvinism are beyond doubt. Naturally we must take as our basis not individuals or groups but a *class* analysis of the contents of social *trends*, and we must examine their main and essential principles from the point of view of ideology and politics.

Approaching the same subject from a somewhat different angle, we ask: From where did social-nationalism come? How did it grow? What gave it significance and power? Whoever has failed to answer those questions has completely failed to understand social-nationalism, and consequently he is entirely incapable of drawing an "ideological line" between himself and social-nationalism, no matter how ardently he mav assert that he is readv to draw such a line.

There can be only one answer to this question: Social-nationalism has grown out of opportunism and it was the latter that gave it power. How could social-nationalism be born "at once"? In the same fashion as a child is born "at once" if nine months have elapsed after its conception. Every one of the numerous expressions of opportunism during the entire Second (or yesterday's) Epoch in all the European countries was a rivulet which now "at once" flowed into a great, though very shallow (parenthetically we may add muddy and dirty) social-nationalist river. Nine months after conception the child must separate from its mother; many decades after the conception of opportunism, its ripe fruit, social-nationalism, will have to separate from modern democracy in a more or less brief space of time (compared with decades). No matter how good people may cry, scold, rage over such ideas and words, this is inevitable since it follows from all social development of modern democracy and from the objective surroundings of the Third Epoch.

But if there is no full coincidence between division "along the line of opportunism" and division "along the line of social-nationalalism," does it not prove that there is no substantial connection between those two phenomena? The answer is, first, that it does not prove it, in the same fashion as the shifting of individual persons from the bourgeoisie at the end of the eighteenth century either to the side of the feudal lords or to the side of the people did not prove that there was "no connection" between the growth of the bourgeoisie and the great French Revolution of 1789. Second, taken by and large, *there is* such a coincidence (and we speak only in general and of the movements as a whole). Take not one individual country but a number of countries, say ten European countries: Germany, *England, France, Belgium*, Russia, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, and Bulgaria. Only the three italicised countries may seem to be exceptions. In the others the trends of the decided opponents of opportunism have given birth to the trends that are hostile to social-chauvinism. Compare the well-known *Monatshefte* and its opponents in Germany, the *Nashe Dyelo* and its opponents in Russia, the party of Bissolati and its opponents in Italy, the adherents of Greulich and Grimm in Switzerland, Branting and Höglund in Sweden, and Troelstra, Pannekoek and

Gorter in Holland,[83] finally the adherents of *Obshcho Dyelo* and the *Tesnyaks* in Bulgaria.[84] The *general* coincidence between the old and the new division is a fact; as to *full* coincidence, it does not happen even in the simplest natural phenomena, any more than there is full coincidence between the Volga before it takes in the Kama and the Volga after that point, or as there is no full similarity between a child and its parents. England only seems to be an exception; in reality, there were two main currents in England before the war identifying themselves with two dailies—which is the truest objective indicator of the mass character of these currents—namely, the *Daily Citizen*[85] as the organ of the opportunists, and the *Daily Herald*[86] as the organ of the opponents of opportunism. Both papers were swamped by the wave of nationalism; still, less than one-tenth of the adherents of the former and some three-sevenths of the adherents of the latter have expressed opposition. The usual method of comparison, whereby only the British Socialist Party is compared with the Independent Labour Party, is incorrect because it overlooks the existence of a *factual* bloc of the latter with the Fabians and the Labour Party. It appears, then, that only two out of ten countries are exceptions, but even here the exceptions are not complete, since the political lines have not changed places, only that the wave has swamped (for reasons so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell on them) almost all opponents of opportunism. This undoubtedly proves the strength of the wave; by no means, however, does it disprove the general European coincidence between the old and the new divisions.

We are told that division "along the line of opportunism" is antiquated, that only one division has meaning, namely, that between the adherents of internationalism and the adherents of national self-sufficiency. This opinion is radically incorrect. The concept "adherents of internationalism" is devoid of every content and all sense if we do not specify it *concretely;* every step along such concrete specification, however, will be the enumeration of characteristics hostile to opportunism. This will prove still more so in practice. An adherent of internationalism who is not a most consistent and determined opponent of opportunism is nothing but a phantom. Some persons of that type may honestly consider themselves to be "internationalists." People, however, are judged not by what they think of themselves but by their political behaviour. The political behaviour of such "internationalists" who are not consistent and determined opponents of opportunism will always aid and abet the nationalist trend. On the other hand, the nationalists also call themselves "internationalists" (Kautsky, Lensch, Haenisch, Vandervelde, Hyndman, and others) and not only do they call themselves so, but they fully recognise an international *rapprochement,* an agreement, a union of persons holding their views. The opportunists are not against "internationalism," they are only in favour of mutual international approval and international agreement of the opportunists.

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HOW POLICE AND REACTIONARIES GUARD THE UNITY OF GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

THE German Social-Democratic paper, *Gothaer Volksblatt* [*Gotha People's Paper*], in its issue of January 9, published an article entitled, "The Policy of the Social-Democratic Parliamentary Fraction Under Police Protection."

> The first two days of the practice of parliamentary censorship [says the paper which has been placed under the pleasant guardianship of the military authorities] show with full clarity that the censorship authorities are particularly anxious to gag the undesirable critics of the policy of the Social-Democratic fraction within our own ranks. The censorship endeavours to maintain "civil peace" within the Social-Democratic Party, in other words, to maintain a "united," "harmonious" and powerful German Social-Democracy. The Social-Democracy under governmental guardianship is the most important event in the internal policies of our "great" time of Germanic regeneration.
>
> Several weeks have passed since our fraction politicians started an extensive propaganda in favour of their views. But since they met with a strong opposition in several very large party centres, and their propaganda created among the workers a sentiment unfavourable rather than favourable to those who vote for military appropriations, the military authorities sought to help them by means of censorship, or by the abolition of the freedom of assembly. In Gotha this help is to come from the censor; in Hamburg, from the famous prohibition of assembly.

In quoting these words, the Swiss Social-Democratic paper appearing in Berne [87] notes that a number of Social-Democratic papers in Germany submitted to preliminary censorship, and it adds: "It seems that soon nothing will be in the way of unity of the German press. Whenever anybody attempts to disturb it, military censorship, informed, directly or indirectly, by the 'Social-Democrats' who are for party peace, will quickly and firmly put an end to it."

It is a fact that the opportunist Social-Democratic papers inform about the radical papers, either directly or indirectly.

Facts have thus proven that we were perfectly right when we wrote in No. 36 of the *Sotsial-Demokrat:* "The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution. . . . In times of crisis they appear immediately as open allies of the *entire* united bourgeoisie." * Unity as a slogan of the Social-Democratic Party in our days means unity with the opportunists and submission to them (or to their bloc with the bourgeoisie). It is a slogan which, *in reality*, aids the police and the reactionaries, and is detrimental to the labour movement.

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* See p. 106.—*Ed.*

Apropos, we note the appearance of a splendid pamphlet by Borchardt (in the German language) entitled *Vor und nach dem* 4. *August* 1914 [*Before and After August* 4, 1914],[88] with a subtitle, *Hat die deutsche Sozialdemokratie abgedankt?*. [*Has German Social-Democracy Repudiated Itself?*] Yes, it has repudiated itself, says the author, proving the glaring contrast between party declarations prior to August 4 and the policies of "August Fourth." * We shall not stop before any sacrifices for war against war, said the Social-Democrats of Germany (and other countries) prior to August 4, 1914, whereas, on September 28, 1914, Otto Braun, a member of the Central Committee, pointed to 20 millions invested in legal papers and to 11,000 employés. Tens of thousands of leaders, officials and privileged workers, demoralised by legalism, have disorganised the army of the German Social-Democratic proletariat, which was a million strong.

The lesson that follows is as clear as can be: A decisive break with chauvinism and opportunism. Still, puny Social-Democratic chatterers (J. Gardenin and Co.) in the puny Paris *Mysl* repudiate Marxism in favour of petty-bourgeois ideas! Forgotten is the A B C of economics and the world-wide development of capitalism which generates only one revolutionary class, the proletariat. Forgotten are Chartism, June, 1848, the Paris Commune, October and December, 1905. The workers are inevitably moving towards their world-wide revolution through a series of defeats and errors, failures and weaknesses, but they move on. Only the blind will fail to realise that bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influence over the proletariat is the main and fundamental cause of the shame and the collapse of the International in 1914. However, phrase-mongers like Gardenin and Co. wish to cure Socialism by completely repudiating its only social and historical foundation, the class struggle of the proletariat, and by diluting Marxism with philistinism, with the Narodnik water of the intelligentsia. What is advocated is not strenuous work in the direction of a complete rupture between the proletarian revolutionary movement and opportunism, but a unification of this movement with the opportunists of the Ropshin [89] and Chernov type who, the day before yesterday, were bomb-throwing liberals, yesterday plain renegade liberals, and to-day delight in sugary bourgeois phrases extolling the "labour" principle!! The Gardenins are no better than the Südekums, the Socialists-Revolutionists no better than the Liquidators. This is why they all so lovingly meet in the *Sovremennik* [*Contemporary*],[90] a magazine advocating a programme of fusing the Social-Democrats and the Socialists-Revolutionists.

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* August 4, 1914, the day the German Social-Democratic Deputies voted for the war budget.—*Ed.*

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 39, March 3, 1915.

ON THE LONDON CONFERENCE [91]

We quote, with abbreviations, the letter of the representative of the R.S.-D.L.P.:

London, Feb. 14, 1915.

Only last night I received from the secretary of the British section of the International the address of the Conference. This in reply to my letter in which I let him know my address without asking for an invitation. I decided to go in order to try to read the declaration. From the Socialists-Revolutionists I found Rubanovich (from the social-chauvinists), Chernov and Bobrov from the *Mysl;* from the Organisation Committee, M., who was delegated together with Martov,—the latter did not appear, as he received no pass. There were eleven delegates from England (Keir Hardie as chairman, MacDonald and others); sixteen from France (Sembat, Vaillant and others); three from Belgium (Vandervelde and others).

The Chairman opened the Conference by declaring that its aim was to exchange opinions and not to adopt resolutions. One of the French delegates offered an amendment, saying, why not crystallise the opinion of the *majority* in a resolution? Passed without discussion.

The agenda: (1) Right of nations—Belgium, Poland; (2) Colonies; (3) Guarantees of peace. Credentials Committee elected (Rubanovich and others).

It was decided: one representative from each country to make brief reports on the attitude to war.

I take the floor and lodge a protest against not inviting the official representative of our party at the International Socialist Bureau (Comrade Maximovich who has for more than a year been a member of the I. S. Bureau as representative of our party, and who is permanently resident in London). The Chairman interrupts me, saying all have been invited "whose names are known." I protest once more against not informing the real representative. Then I refer to our Manifesto (see *Sotsial-Demokrat,* No. 33, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy") * which shows our general attitude towards the war, and which was *sent* to the I. S. Bureau. Prior to speaking of peace conditions, I say, it is necessary to make clear by what means we shall endeavour to gain it, and for this purpose it is necessary to ascertain whether there is a general revolutionary Social-Democratic basis, whether we confer as chauvinists, as pacifists, or as Social-Democrats. I read our declaration, but the Chairman interrupts me, declaring that my standing as a delegate has not yet been ascertained [!] and that they gathered "not to criticise various parties" [!] I declare that I will continue my speech after the report of the Credentials Committee. [The text of the declaration we were not allowed to read appears in the next issue].**

Brief declarations on the general situation are made by Vaillant, Vandervelde, MacDonald, Rubanovich. Then, after the report of the Credentials Committee, M. is given the liberty to decide whether he alone can represent the Organisation Committee, whereas I am "allowed" to participate. I thank the Conference for its "courtesy" and wish to continue the declaration in order to make clear whether I can remain. The Chairman interrupts me, saying he will not allow me to present "conditions" to the Conference. Then I ask permission to declare why I will *not* participate in the Conference. Declined. Then, I say, allow me to declare that the R. S.-D. L. P. does not participate in this Conference. As to the reasons, I leave a written declaration with the Chairman. I gather my papers and go.

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* See p. 76.—*Ed.*

** See next article.—*Ed.*

The Chairman was handed a declaration by the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Lettish Social-Democracy (B-in) to the effect that he fully agreed with our declaration.

The delegates of the Conference were forbidden to give any information to the press. This, of course, does not apply to Comrade Maximovich leaving the conference. The *Labour Leader,* in which Keir Hardie collaborates, has commented in a general way upon the departure of Maximovich and upon his point of view.

Owing to the shortage of space, we are compelled to return to the London Conference and its resolutions in our next issue. We only wish to note the utter futility of its resolutions, which only cover up social-chauvinism.

This is the picture of the Russian representation: the Central Committee and the Lettish Social-Democrats are decidedly and clearly against social-chauvinism. The Organisation Committee of the Liquidators either lives in thin air, or is hopelessly confused. As to the Socialists-Revolutionists, the "party" (Rubanovich) is *for* social-chauvinism while the *Mysl* (Bobrov and Chernov) form the opposition which we shall appraise when we have learned the character of their declaration.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 39, March 3, 1915.

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R. S.-D. L. P.

PRESENTED AT THE LONDON CONFERENCE

CITIZENS, your conference calls itself the conference of the Socialist parties of the allied belligerent countries: Belgium, England, France, and *Russia.* Permit me first of all to call your attention to the fact that the Social-Democracy of Russia, as an organised whole represented by the Central Committee and affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau, received no invitation from you. Russian Social-Democrats whose views were expressed by the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction in the Duma, now imprisoned by the tsarist government (Petrovsky, Muranov, Samoilov, Badayev, Shagov, representing the workers of the Petrograd, Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Kostroma, and Vladimir provinces), have nothing in common with your conference. We hope that you will make this known publicly, so that you may not be accused of distorting the truth.

Permit me now to say a few words about the aim of your conference, *i. e.*, to say what the class-conscious Social-Democratic workers of Russia would expect of you.

We think that before entering into any discussions as to the re-establishment of the International, before attempting to renew international connections between the Socialist workers, our Socialist duty compels us to demand:

(1) That Vandervelde, Guesde, and Sembat immediately quit the bourgeois cabinets of Belgium and France;

(2) That the Belgian and French Socialist parties sever the so-called "national bloc" which is a renunciation of the Socialist banner, and serves to cover up the orgies of chauvinism indulged in by the bourgeoisie;

(3) That all Socialist parties abandon their policy of ignoring the crimes of Russian tsarism, and renew their support of the struggle against tsarism, which is conducted bv the Russian workers without fear of any sacrifices;

(4) That, in fulfilment of the resolutions of the Basle Congress, it be declared that we extend our hand to those revolutionary Social-Democrats of Germany and Austria who replied to the declaration of war by preparing propaganda in favour of revolutionary action. Votes for military appropriations must be absolutely condemned.

The Social-Democrats of Germany and Austria committed a monstrous crime against Socialism and the International when they voted for the military appropriations and concluded "civil peace" with the Junkers, the clergy, and the bourgeoisie, but the Belgian and French Socialists have acted not in the least better. We perfectly understand that circumstances are possible when Socialists, being in a minority, are compelled to submit to a bourgeois majority, but under no circumstances must Socialists cease being Socialists and join the chorus of bourgeois chauvinists, forget the cause of the workers and join bourgeois cabinets.

The German and Austrian Socialists are committing a great crime against Socialism when, following the example of the bourgeoisie, they hypocritically assert that the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs are waging war for liberation from tsarism.

But not a lesser crime is being committed by those who assert that tsarism is becoming more democratic and civilised, who pass over in silence the fact that tsarism stifles and ruins unfortunate Galicia in the very same way in which German imperialism stifles and ruins Belgium, and by those who keep silent about the fact that the tsarist clique has thrown into prison the parliamentary representatives of the working class of Russia; that only recently it sentenced several Moscow workers to six years of hard labour merely for belonging to the Social-Democratic Party; that tsarism oppresses Finland worse than ever; that workers' papers and workers' organisations in Russia are suppressed; that the billions required for the war are being squeezed out by the tsarist clique from the starving peasants and poor workers.

The workers of Russia extend their comradely hand to the Socialists who act like Karl Liebknecht, like the Socialists of Serbia and Italy, like the British comrades from the Independent Labour Party and some members of the British Socialist Party, like our imprisoned comrades of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

It is to this road that we call you, to the road of Socialism. Down with chauvinism which destroys the proletarian cause! Long live international Socialism!

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 40, March 29, 1915.

CONFERENCE OF THE FOREIGN SECTIONS OF THE R.S.-D.L.P.[92]

A CONFERENCE of the sections of the R.S.-D.L.P. whose members live outside of Russia closed its sessions a few days ago. The conference took place in Switzerland. Besides discussing purely foreign affairs, on which we shall briefly comment in the coming issue of the Central Organ, it framed a resolution on the important and topical question of the war. In publishing this resolution forthwith, we hope that it will be of use to all Social-Democrats who earnestly seek a road to vital work out of the present-day chaos of opinions which, in substance, reduces itself to the acknowledgment of internationalism in words and a tendency to make peace with social-chauvinism in practice, no matter at what price and in which manner. We may add that in the question of the slogan of a "United States of Europe" the discussion took a one-sided political turn, and it was decided to postpone the question pending an analysis of the *economic* side of it in the press.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Accepting as a basis the Central Committee's Manifesto published in No. 33,* the conference, in order better to co-ordinate the propaganda, lays down the following propositions:

ON THE NATURE OF THE WAR

The present war is of an imperialist character. This war is the outcome of the conditions of an epoch when capitalism has reached the highest stage of its development; when the greatest significance is attached not only to the export of commodities, but also to the export of capital; when the combination of production units in cartels, and the internationalisation of economic life, has assumed considerable dimensions; when colonial politics have brought about an almost total apportionment of the globe among the colonial powers;

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* See p. 76.—*Ed.*

when the productive forces of world capitalism have outgrown the limited boundaries of national and state divisions; when objective conditions for the realisation of Socialism have perfectly ripened.

THE "DEFENCE OF THE FATHERLAND" SLOGAN

The real substance of the present war is a struggle between England, France and Germany for the division of colonies and for the plunder of the competing countries, and an attempt on the part of tsarism and the ruling classes of Russia to seize Persia, Mongolia, Turkey in Asia, Constantinople, Galicia, etc. The national element in the war between Austria and Serbia occupies an entirely subordinate place and does not alter the general imperialist character of the war.

All economic and diplomatic history of the last decade proves that both groups of belligerent nations had systematically prepared a war of the kind we witness at present. The question of which group dealt the first military blow or first declared war is of no importance in mapping out the tactics of the Socialists. Phrases concerning the defence of the fatherland, resistance to enemy invasion, war of defence, etc., are, on either side, nothing but a means to deceive the people.

At the bottom of the real national wars, such as took place between 1789 and 1871, there was a long process of mass nationalist movement, of struggles against absolutism and feudalism, of casting off national oppression and creating states on a national basis as prerequisites for capitalist development.

The national ideology that was created by that epoch left deep traces in the mass of the petty bourgeoisie and a section of the proletariat. This is utilised now, in a totally different, imperialist, epoch, by the sophists of the bourgeoisie, and by the traitors to Socialism who follow in their wake, for the purpose of splitting the workers and diverting them from their class tasks and from revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The words of the *Communist Manifesto* that "the workers have no fatherland" are truer now than ever. Only the international struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie can save its conquests and open before the oppressed masses a road to a better future.

SLOGANS OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

"To turn the present imperialist war into civil war is the only correct proletarian slogan following from the experience of the Commune, indicated by the Basle (1912) resolution and dictated by all the conditions of an imperialist war between highly developed bourgeois countries."

Civil war to which revolutionary Social-Democracy calls at the present period is a struggle of the proletariat, with arms in hand, against the bourgeoisie for the purpose of expropriating the capitalist class in the advanced capitalist countries, for a democratic revolution in Russia (democratic republic, eight-hour work-day, confiscation of landowners' lands), for a republic in the backward monarchist countries in general, etc.

The appalling miseries of the masses created by the war cannot fail to produce revolutionary sentiments and movements. The civil war slogan must serve to co-ordinate and direct those sentiments and movements.

The organisation of the working class is at the present moment in a broken-down condition. Nevertheless, a revolutionary crisis is approaching. After the war, the ruling classes of all countries will make a still greater effort to give a set-back to the movement of the proletariat for freedom, a set-back that may last for decades. It will be the task of revolutionary Social-Democracy, both in case of a rapid revolutionary development and in case of a protracted crisis, not to renounce tedious everyday work, not to cast away any of the old methods of class struggle. It will be its task to direct both parliamentarism and the economic struggle against opportunism, in the spirit of revolutionary struggle of the masses.

As the first steps towards changing the present imperialist war into civil war, we may indicate: (1) Unconditional refusal to vote for military appropriations and resignation of posts in bourgeois cabinets; (2) Complete break with the policy of "civil peace" (*bloc national, Burgfrieden*); (3) Creation of an illegal organisation wherever the governments and the bourgeoisie abolish constitutional liberties by introducing martial law; (4) Aid to fraternisation of the soldiers of the belligerent nations in the trenches and on the battlefields in general; (5) Support to every kind of revolutionary mass action of the proletariat in general.

OPPORTUNISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of Socialist opportunism. The latter has grown as a product of the preceding "peaceful" epoch in the development of the labour movement. This epoch taught the working class to utilise such important means of struggle as parliamentarism and all legal possibilities, to create mass economic and political organisations, a widespread labour press, etc.; on the other hand this epoch created a tendency to repudiate class struggle and to preach social peace, to repudiate the Socialist revolution, to repudiate the very principle of illegal organisations, to recognise bourgeois patriotism, etc. Certain strata of the working class (the bureaucracy of the labour movement and the labour aristocracy which received crumbs of the profits from the exploitation of the colonies and from the privileged position of their "fatherland" on the world market), as well as petty-bourgeois sympathisers within the Socialist parties, have proven to be the main social support of these tendencies and the conductors of bourgeois influence into the proletariat.

The detrimental influence of opportunism has manifested itself most flagrantly in the policy of the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties of the Second International during the war. Voting for military appropriations, participation in the cabinets, the policy of "civil peace," the repudiation of an illegal organisation while legality is denied, all this means a violation of the most important decisions of the International, and a direct betrayal of Socialism.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The crisis created by the war has exposed the real substance of opportunism, revealing it in the role of a direct aid to the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. The so-called Social-Democratic "centre," headed by Kautsky, has in reality rolled down to opportunism completely, covering this up by hypocritical phrases that are particularly harmful, and by falsifications of Marxism that turn it into imperialism. Experience has proven that in Germany, for instance, to defend the Socialist standpoint, it was first necessary to violate the will of the majority of the party leadership. It would be a harmful illusion to hope to restore a real Socialist International without drawing a clear line of organisational demarcation between real Socialists and opportunists.

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party must support all and every international and revolutionary mass action of the proletariat; it must strive to bring together all anti-chauvinist elements of the International.

PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SLOGAN

Some of the means employed to fool the working class are pacifism and the abstract preachment of peace.

Under capitalism, particularly in its imperialist stage, wars are unavoidable. On the other hand, Social-Democrats cannot overlook the positive significance of revolutionary wars, *i. e.*, not imperialist wars, but such as were conducted, for instance, between 1789 and 1871, for the purpose of abolishing national oppression and creating national capitalist states out of the feudal decentralised states, or such wars whose purpose it would possibly be to defend the conquests of the proletariat when it is gaining the upper hand in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

A propaganda of peace at the present time, if not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions, is only capable of spreading illusions, of demoralising the proletariat by imbuing it with confidence in the humanitarianism of the bourgeoisie, and of making it a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries. In particular, the idea of the possibility of a so-called democratic peace without a series of revolutions is deeply erroneous.

THE DEFEAT OF THE TSARIST MONARCHY

The struggle against the government that conducts the imperialist war must not halt in any country before the possibility of that country's defeat in consequence of revolutionary propaganda. The defeat of the governmental army weakens the government, aids the liberation of the nationalities oppressed by it, and makes civil war against the ruling classes easier.

This proposition is especially true in relation to Russia. The victory of Russia will bring with it a strengthening of world reaction, a strengthening of the reaction inside of the country, and will be accompanied by a complete enslavement of the peoples in the regions already seized. In view of this, the defeat of Russia appears to be the lesser evil under all conditions.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER PARTIES AND GROUPS

The war with its orgy of chauvinism has proven that the democratic (Narodnik) intelligentsia and the party of the Socialists-Revolutionists (whose oppositional current, centered in the *Mysl*, is very unstable) as well as the main group of the Liquidators (the *Nasha Zarya*) supported by Plekhanov are under the chauvinist sway. The Organisation Committee is also, in practice, on the side of chauvinism, beginning from its masked support by Larin and Martov and finishing with the defence in principle of the ideas of patriotism by Axelrod; so is the Bund, in which pro-German [93] chauvinism prevails. The Brussels Bloc (of August 3, 1914) has completely broken up, while the elements that are grouped around the *Nashe Slovo* [*Our Word*] [94] are vacillating between platonic sympathy for internationalism and a tendency for unity at any price with the *Nasha Zarya* and the Organisation Committee. The same vacillations are manifest in Chkheidze's Social-Democratic fraction. The latter has, on the one hand, excluded the Plekhanovist, *i. e.*, the chauvinist, Mankov; on the other hand it is eager to cover up by all possible means the chauvinism of Plekhanov, the *Nasha Zarya*, Axelrod, the Bund, etc.

It is the task of the Social-Democratic Labour Party in Russia to strengthen the proletarian unity which, in 1912-1914, was created mainly through the efforts of the *Pravda*, and to re-establish the Social-Democratic Party organisations of the working class on the basis of a decisive organisational rupture with the social-chauvinists. Temporary agreements are possible only with those Social-Democrats who are for a decisive organisational rupture with the Organisation Committee, the *Nasha Zarya* and the Bund.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 40, March 29, 1915.

WHAT HAS THE TRIAL OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR FRACTION PROVEN? [95]

THE tsarist trial of five members of the R.S.-D.L. Fraction [of the Duma—*Ed.*] and six other Social-Democrats seized at a conference near Petrograd on November 17, 1914,[96] is over. All of them have been sentenced to exile in Siberia. From the accounts of the trial published in the legal press the censorship has cut out items unpleasant to tsarism and patriots. The "internal enemies" were dealt with decisively and quickly, and again nothing is seen or heard on the surface of public life outside of the mad howl of a host of bourgeois chauvinists seconded by handfuls of social-chauvinists.

What, then, has the trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction proven?

It has proven, first, that this advance detachment of revolutionary Social-Democracy in Russia did not show sufficient firmness at the trial. It was the aim of the defendants to make it difficult for the State Attorney to identify the members of the Central Committee in Russia and the party representative who had had certain dealings with workers' organisations. This aim has been accomplished. In order that we may accomplish similar aims in the future, we must resort to a method long recommended officially by the party, namely, refusal to testify. However, to attempt to show solidarity with the social-patriot, Mr. Yordansky, as did Comrade Rosenfeld [Kamenev.—*Ed.*], or to point out one's disagreement with the Central Committee, is an incorrect method; this is impermissible from the standpoint of revolutionary Social-Democracy.[97]

We call attention to the fact that according to the report of the *Dyen* [*Day*], (No. 40) [98]—there is no official and complete record of the trial—Comrade Petrovsky declared: "At the same period (in November) I received the resolution of the Central Committee, and besides this . . . there were presented to me resolutions of workers from seven localities concerning the attitude of the workers towards the war, resolutions *coinciding with the attitude of the Central Committee.*"

This declaration does Petrovsky honour. Chauvinism was running high everywhere. In Petrovsky's diary there is a phrase to the effect that *even* radically minded Chkheidze spoke with enthusiasm of a war for "liberty." This chauvinism was resisted by the Deputies, members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction when they were free; it was also their duty to draw the line between themselves and chauvinism at the trial.

The Cadet *Ryech* [*Speech*] servilely "thanks" the tsarist court for "dispelling the legend" that the Russian Social-Democratic Deputies had wished the defeat of the tsarist armies.[99] The *Ryech* takes advantage of the fact that the Social-Democrats in Russia are bound, hand and foot. The Cadets make believe that they take seriously the so-called "conflict" between the party and the fraction, declaring that the defendants testified freely, not under the judicial sword of Damocles. What innocent babes! As if they do not know that in the first stages of the trial the Deputies were threatened with court-martial and capital punishment.

It was the duty of the comrades to refuse to give evidence concerning the illegal organisation; bearing in mind the world-wide historic importance of the moment, they had to take advantage of the open trial in order directly to expound the Social-Democratic views which are hostile not only to tsarism in general, but also to social-chauvinism of all and every shade.

Let the governmental and bourgeois press wrathfully attack the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction; let Socialists-Revolutionists, Liquidators and social-chauvinists (who must fight *somehow,* if they cannot fight us on the issue of principles!) maliciously "pick out" manifestations of weakness or of a so-called "disagreement with the Central Committee." The party of the revolutionary proletariat is strong enough openly to criticise itself, unequivocally to call a mistake and a weakness by their proper names. The class-conscious workers of Russia have created a party and have placed at the front an advance guard which, when the World War is raging and international opportunism is bankrupt the world over, has proven most capable of fulfilling the duty of international revolutionary Social-Democrats. Our road has been tested by the greatest of all crises, and has proven over and over again the only correct road. We shall follow it still more determinedly and more firmly, we shall push to the front new advance-guards, we shall make them not only do the same work but complete it more correctly.

Secondly, the trial has unfolded a picture of *revolutionary* Social-Democracy taking advantage of parliamentarism, the like of which has not been witnessed in international Socialism. This example will, more than all speeches, appeal to the minds and hearts of the proletarian masses; it will, more than any arguments, repudiate the legalist-opportunists and Anarchist phrase-mongers. The report of Muranov's illegal work and Petrovsky's notes will for a long while remain an example of our Deputies' work which we were compelled diligently to conceal, and the meaning of which will give all the class-conscious workers of Russia more and more food for thought. At a time when nearly all "Socialist" (excuse me for debasing this word!) Deputies of Europe proved chauvinists and servants of chauvinists, when the famous "Europeanism" that had charmed our Liberals and Liquidators, proved a routine habit of slavish legality, there was a labour party in Russia whose Deputies did not shine with fine rhetoric, neither with "access" to the bourgeois intellectual drawing rooms, nor with the businesslike efficiency of a "European" lawyer and parliamentarian, but excelled in connections with the working masses, in ardent work among those masses, in carrying out small, unpretentious, difficult, thankless and unusually dangerous functions of illegal propagandists and organisers. To rise higher, to the rank of a Deputy influential in "society" or to the rank of a Minister, such was *in reality* the meaning of the "European" (read: lackey-like) "Socialist" parliamentarism. To go deeper, to help enlighten and unite the exploited and the oppressed, this is the slogan advanced by the examples of Muranov and Petrovsky.

And this slogan will have a world-wide historic significance. There is not one thinking worker in any country of the world who would agree to confine himself to the old legalism of bourgeois parliamentarism once it has been abolished in all the advanced countries by a stroke of the pen (a legality which brought about only a more intimate practical alliance between the opportunists and the bourgeoisie). Whoever dreams of "unity" of revolutionary Social-Democratic workers with the "European" Social-Democratic legalists of yesterday *and of to-day* has learned nothing and forgotten nothing and is in reality an ally of the bourgeoisie and an enemy of the proletariat. Whoever has failed to grasp to the present day for what reason and for what purpose the Social-Democratic Labour Fraction had split away from the Social-Democratic Fraction that was making peace with legalism and opportunism, let him learn now, from the report of the trial, of the activities of Muranov and Petrovsky. This work was conducted *not only* by those two Deputies, and only hopelessly naive people can dream of a compatibility between such work and a "friendly tolerant relation" with the *Nasha Zarya* or the *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* [*Northern Labour Gazette*],[100] the *Sovremennik*, the Organisation Committee, or the Bund.

Does the government hope to frighten the workers by sending into Siberia the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction? It is mistaken. The workers will not be frightened; on the contrary, they will better understand their aims, the aims of a Labour Party as distinct from the Liquidators and the social-chauvinists. The workers will learn to elect to the Duma men like the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction for similar and broader work, and at the same time they will learn to conduct still more secret activities among the masses. Does the government intend to kill "illegal parliamentarism" in Russia? It will only strengthen connections of the proletariat exclusively with that kind of parliamentarism.

Thirdly, which is most important, the trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction has, for the first time, yielded open objective material, spread over Russia in millions of copies, concerning the most fundamental, the most significant question as to the relation to the war of *various classes* of Russian society. Have we not had enough of that nauseating intellectual prattle about the compatibility of "defence of the fatherland" with internationalism "in principle" (that is to say, purely verbal and hypocritical internationalism)? Has not the time come to face the *facts* that relate to *classes, i. e.*, to millions of living people, and not to dozens of phrase-heroes?

More than half a year has passed since the beginning of the war. The press, both legal and illegal, has expressed itself. All the party groupings of the Duma have defined their positions, these being a very insufficient but the only objective indicator of our class groupings. The trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction, and the press comments, have summed up all this material. The trial has shown that the advanced representatives of the proletariat in Russia are not only hostile to chauvinism in general but that, in particular, they share the position of our Central Organ. The Deputies were arrested on November 17, 1914. Consequently, they conducted their work for more than two months. With whom and how did they conduct it? What currents in the working class did they reflect and express? The answer to this is given in the fact that the conference used the "theses" and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* as material, that the Petrograd committee of our party more than once issued leaflets of the same nature. There was no other material at the conference. The Deputies did not intend to report to the conference about other currents in the working class, because there were no other currents.

But didn't the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction express only the opinion of a minority of the workers? We have no right to make such a supposition, since, during two and a half years, from spring, 1912, to autumn, 1914, four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia rallied around the *Pravda* with which these Deputies worked in full ideological solidarity. This is a fact. Had there been a more or less appreciable protest among the workers against the position of the Central Committee, this protest would not have failed to find expression in the proposed resolutions. Nothing of the kind was revealed at the trial although the trial, we are frank to say, did "reveal" much of the work of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction. The corrections in Petrovsky's hand do not reveal even the slightest shading of any difference of opinion.

The facts tell us that, in the very first months after the beginning of the war, the class-conscious vanguard of the workers of Russia rallied, in practice, around the Central Committee and the Central Organ. This fact may be unpleasant to one or the other of our "fractions," still it cannot be denied. The words quoted in the indictment: "It is necessary to direct the armies not against our brothers, the wage slaves of other countries, but against the reaction of the bourgeois governments and parties of all countries"—these words will spread, thanks to the trial, and they have already spread over Russia as an appeal to proletarian internationalism, to proletarian revolution. The class slogan of the vanguard of the workers of Russia has reached, thanks to the trial, the widest masses of the workers.

An epidemic of chauvinism among the bourgeoisie and one section of the petty bourgeoisie, vacillations in another section, and a working class appeal of this nature—this is the actual objective picture of our political activities. It is to this actual picture, and not to the benevolent wishes of intellectuals and founders of little groups, that one has to adapt one's "prospects," hopes, slogans.

The "Pravdist" papers and the "Muranov type" of work have brought about the unity of four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia. About forty thousand workers bought the *Pravda;* many more read it. Let war, prison, Siberia, hard labour break five times more or ten times more—this section of the workers *cannot* be annihilated. It is alive. It is permeated with revolutionary spirit, it is anti-chauvinist. It *alone* stands among the masses of the people, and deeply rooted in their midst, as a protagonist of the internationalism of the toiling, the exploited, the oppressed. It *alone* has kept its ground in the general debacle. It alone leads the semi-proletarian elements *away from* the social-chauvinism of the Cadets, Trudoviks, Plekhanovs, the *Nasha Zarya,* and on to Socialism. Its existence, its ideas, its work, its appeal to the "brotherhood of wage slaves of other countries" have been revealed to the whole of Russia by the trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction.

It is with this section that we must work. It is its unity that must be defended against social-chauvinism. It is only along this road that the labour movement of Russia can develop towards social revolution and not towards national liberalism of the "European" type.

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THE LONDON CONFERENCE

THE declaration of Comrade Maximovich, the representative of the Central Committee of the R. S.-D. L. P., which we print here, gives full expression to the views of our party on this conference. The bourgeois French press excellently revealed its significance as a tool or a manœuvre of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie. The roles were distributed like this: *Le Temps* [*The Times*] [101] and *L'Echo de Paris* [*Paris Echo*] [102] attacked the French Socialists, alleging that they had made too many concessions to internationalism. These attacks were only a manœuvre to prepare the ground for the well-known declaration of Premier Viviani made in Parliament in a spirit of rabid patriotism. On the other hand, the *Journal des Débats* [*Journal of Discussion*] [103] laid the cards on the table in declaring that the major achievement was the vote of the English Socialists with Keir Hardie at their head, who had hitherto been against the war and against recruiting, and who at the conference cast their vote in favour of the war until victory is won over Germany. This has been gained. This is important. This is the political result of winning over the English and French Socialists to the side of the Anglo-French bourgeoisie. As to the phrases of internationalism, Socialism, referendum, etc., they are *only* phrases, idle words which have no significance.

The clever reactionaries of the French bourgeoisie have undoubtedly blurted out the real truth. The war is conducted by the Anglo-French plus Russian bourgeoisie with the aim of ruining and plundering Germany, Austria and Turkey. It needs recruiting officers, it needs the consent of the Socialists to fight until victory over Germany is won. The rest is idle and unworthy phrasemongering which prostitutes the great words Socialism, internationalism, etc. To follow the bourgeoisie and to help it plunder other countries in practice, to treat the masses to hypocritical recognition of "Socialism and the International" in words, this is the fundamental sin of opportunism, the fundamental cause of the collapse of the Second International.

The task of the opponents of social-chauvinism at the London

Conference was therefore clear: to leave the conference in the name of decisive anti-chauvinist principles, at the same time *not falling into* Germanophilism, since the pro-Germans are decidedly opposed to the London Conference for no other reason than chauvinism! Comrade Maximovich carried out his task when he definitely spoke of the *betrayal* of the German Socialists.

The Bundists and the partisans of the Organisation Committee cannot grasp this simple and obvious thing. The former are Germanophiles like Kossovsky, who *openly justifies* the vote for military appropriations by the German Social-Democrats (see *Information Bulletin of the Bund,*[104] No. 7, January, 1915, p. 7, beginning of § 5). The editors of this sheet did not say a word about disagreeing with Kossovsky, although they emphasised their disagreement with Borisov, who defends Russian patriotism. The Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Bund (*ibid.*, p. 3) contains not one clear word against social-chauvinism.

The Organisation Committee partisans are in favour of reconciling Germanophile chauvinism with Francophile chauvinism. This is clear from Axelrod's declarations (*Golos*, Nos. 86 and 87) and from the first issue of the *Izvestia* of the Organisation Committee's foreign secretariat[105] (Feb. 22, 1915). When the editors of the *Nashe Slovo* proposed to us joint action against "official social-chauvinism," we, enclosing in our reply our draft declaration, and referring to the decisive vote of Comrade Maximovich, replied *directly* that the Organisation Committee and the Bund are themselves on the side of official social-patriotism.[106]

Why does the *Nashe Slovo* deceive itself and others in *not mentioning* this in the editorial of No. 32?[107] Why do they not mention that our declaration contained also a statement concerning the *betrayal* of the German Social-Democrats? The *Nashe Slovo* declaration *omitted* this most important and fundamental point;[108] neither we nor Comrade Maximovich accepted, or could accept, this declaration. This is why no common action of the Organisation Committee and ourselves took place. Why, then, does the *Nashe Slovo* deceive itself and others in asserting that there is a basis for unity of action?

"Official social-patriotism" is the main evil of present-day Socialism. To fight against it (and not to get reconciled with it, not to reach mutual international "amnesty" on this point) all the forces must be prepared and gathered. Kautsky and others gave a clearly defined programme of "amnesty" and of peace with social-chauvinism. We attempted to give a clearly defined programme of a fight against it: see particularly No. 33 of the *Sotsial-Demokrat,* and the resolutions here printed. It remains for us to express our wish that the *Nashe Slovo* should pass from vacillating between "platonic sympathy for internationalism" and peace with social-chauvinism, to something more definite.

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CIVIL WAR SLOGAN ILLUSTRATED

On January 8 the Swiss papers received the following communication from Berlin: "It has of late been repeatedly printed in the public press that peaceful attempts at fraternisation have been made between the soldiers of the German and French trenches. According to the *Tägliche Rundschau* [*Daily Review*], an order dated December 29 prohibits fraternisation and generally every form of intercourse with the enemy in the trenches. Disregard of this order will be punished as state treason."

It seems that fraternisation and attempts at intercourse with the enemy are a fact. The military authorities of Germany are disquieted by it, consequently they attach to it a serious importance. In the English paper, *Labour Leader*, of January 7, 1915, *a whole series* of quotations from bourgeois English papers is contained bearing witness to the fact that cases have occurred when English and German soldiers had fraternised, had established a "forty-eight-hour truce" at Christmas and had met in a friendly fashion half-way between the trenches, etc.[109] The English military authorities *forbade* fraternisation by a *special order*. And still the Socialist-opportunists and their defenders (or maybe servants like Kautsky?) have in the public press assured the workers with an air of unusual self-satisfaction and with the comfortable feeling of being protected by military censorship against refutations, that understandings between the Socialists of the belligerent countries as to anti-war activities were *impossible* (a verbatim expression of Kautsky's in the *Neue Zeit!*).[110]

Imagine that Hyndman, Guesde, Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Kautsky and others, instead of aiding the bourgeoisie, which is now their occupation, had formed an international committee for the propaganda of "fraternisation and attempts at mutual relations" between the Socialists of the belligerent countries both in the "trenches" and in the army in general. What would have been the result after several months if even now, only six months after the beginning of the war, in spite of all those political bosses, leaders and stars of the first magnitude who betrayed Socialism, there grows everywhere an opposition against those who voted for military appropriations and against the ministerialists, while the military authorities threaten death for "fraternisation"!

"There is only one practical question: the victory or the defeat of our own country," Kautsky, the servant of the opportunists, wrote in unison with Guesde, Plekhanov and Co. This is true; yes, if we were to forget Socialism and class struggle, this would be true. But if we do not forget Socialism, it is untrue! There is another *practical* question: whether we should perish in a war between slaveholders, ourselves blind and helpless slaves, or whether we should perish for the "attempts at fraternisation" between the workers, with the aim of casting off slavery?

Such is, *in reality*, the "practical" question.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 40, March 29, 1915.

ENGLISH PACIFISM AND ENGLISH DISLIKE OF THEORY

Political freedom has hitherto been incomparably greater in England than in the other countries of Europe. Here more than elsewhere the bourgeoisie has become accustomed to rule and knows how to rule. The relations between the classes are more developed and in many respects clearer than in other countries. The absence of conscription makes the people more free in their attitude towards the war, in that everybody is free to refuse to join the army. The government (which in England is nothing but a committee to manage the affairs of the bourgeoisie) is therefore compelled to strain every nerve to increase "popular enthusiasm for the war." This would be absolutely impossible to attain without radically altering the law, were not the proletarian mass entirely disorganised and demoralised by the shifting of a minority of the best-situated, skilled, and unionised workers to liberal, *i. e.*, bourgeois politics. The English trade unions already comprise about one-fifth of the wage workers. The leaders of those trade unions are mostly liberals whom Marx long ago called agents of the bourgeoisie.

All these peculiarities of England help us, on the one hand, better to understand the essence of present-day social-chauvinism, for this essence is *identical* in autocratic and democratic countries, in militarist countries and in such as know no military conscription; on the other hand, they help us to comprehend, on the basis of facts, the meaning of that compromise with social-chauvinism which expresses itself in such actions as extolling the peace slogan, etc.

The most perfect expression of opportunism and of liberal labour politics is undoubtedly the Fabian Society.[111] Let the reader take a glance at the correspondence of Marx and Engels with Sorge.[112] The reader will find there an excellent characterisation of that society by Engels, who treats Messrs. Sidney Webb and Co. as a band of bourgeois humbugs whose aim it is to demoralise the workers, to influence them in a counter-revolutionary direction. One may vouch for the fact that none of the more or less outstanding and influential leaders of the Second International ever attempted to refute this characterisation of Engels, or even to doubt its correctness.

Let us now compare the *facts*, leaving theory aside for a moment. We note that the Fabians' conduct during the war (compare, for instance, their weekly paper, the *New Statesman*) and the behaviour of the German Social-Democratic Party, including Kautsky, are *perfectly identical*. We see the same direct and indirect defence of social-chauvinism; the same combination of such a defence with a readiness to utter sugary, humane, and near-Left phrases about peace, disarmament, etc.

The fact stares one in the face; the conclusion inevitably and irrefutably to be drawn from it, no matter how unpleasant it may be for various persons, is that in practice the leaders of the present-day German Social-Democratic Party, including Kautsky, are exactly such agents of the bourgeoisie as Engels called the Fabians a long time ago. The non-recognition of Marxism by the Fabians and its "recognition" by Kautsky and Co. changes nothing in the thing *per se*, in practical politics; it only proves that with certain writers, politicians, etc., Marxism has turned into Struveism. Their hypocrisy *is not* their personal vice; they may be in individual cases the most virtuous heads of families; their hypocrisy is the result of the objective falsity of their social position, namely, of the fact that they are supposed to represent the revolutionary proletariat, whereas in reality they are agents charged with the duty of conveying to the proletariat bourgeois-chauvinist ideas.

The Fabians are more sincere and honest than Kautsky and Co. because they have not promised to stand for a revolution; politically, however, they are the same.

The existence of time-honoured political freedom in England, and the developed state of its political life in general, of its bourgeoisie in particular, made it possible for various *shadings* of bourgeois opinion to find, quickly, easily and freely, new expression in new political organisations of that country. One of such organisations is the Union of Democratic Control. The secretary and treasurer of this organisation is E. D. Morel, who is now a constant contributor to the central organ of the Independent Labour Party, the *New Leader*. This individual has repeatedly been the candidate of the Liberal Party in the Birkenhead district. When, shortly after the outbreak of the war, Morel expressed himself *against* it, he was notified by a committee of the Birkenhead Liberal Association, in a letter dated October 2, 1914, that his candidacy was no longer acceptable to the liberals, *i. e.*, he had been simply expelled from the party. Morel replied, on October 14, in a letter which he subsequently published as a pamphlet entitled *The Outbreak of the War.* In this pamphlet, as well as in a number of other articles, Morel exposes *his* government, proving the falsehood of references to the violation of Belgium's neutrality as the cause of the war, or to the destruction of *Prussian* imperialism as the aim of the war, etc., etc. Morel defends the programme of the Union of Democratic Control which stands for peace, disarmament, the right of every region to decide its own fate by plebiscite, and a democratic control over foreign politics.

All this shows that Morel, as a person, undoubtedly deserves credit for his sincere sympathy with democracy, for turning from chauvinist bourgeoisie to pacifist bourgeoisie. When Morel proves by facts that *his* government duped the people, denying the existence of secret treaties at a time when such treaties existed; that the English bourgeoisie as early as 1887 clearly recognised the unavoidability of violating Belgium's neutrality in case of a Franco-German war, and decidedly rejected the idea of interfering (Germany then was not yet such a dangerous competitor!); that French militarists like Colonel Boucher, in a number of books published before the war, openly admitted the existence of plans for an *aggressive* war of France and Russia against Germany; that the well-known military authority of England, Colonel Repington, as early as *1911* recognised in the public press that the growth of Russian armaments after 1905 was a menace to Germany;—when Morel proves all this, we cannot fail to admit that we deal here with an exceptionally honest and courageous bourgeois who is not afraid to break with his own party.

Everybody will have to admit, however, that Morel is a bourgeois nevertheless, that his phrases of peace and armament remain empty words, since without revolutionary actions on the part of the proletariat there can be neither a democratic peace nor disarmament. Morel, who parted ways with the liberals on the question of the present war, remains a liberal as far as all the other economic and political questions are concerned. Why then, when the *same* bourgeois phrases about peace and disarmament are being covered up with Marxist gestures by Kautsky, is this not recognised as hypocrisy but as Kautsky's merit? Only the undeveloped political relations and the absence of political freedom in Germany are in the way of forming, as quickly and easily as in England, a bourgeois league for peace and disarmament with Kautsky's programme.

This being the case, let us recognise the truth, that Kautsky occupies the position of a pacifist bourgeois, and not that of a revolutionary Social-Democrat.

The events we are passing through are great enough to warrant telling the truth with sufficient courage without regard to rank.

Being disinclined to abstract theories and taking pride in their own common sense, the English often approach political questions *more directly*, thus helping the Socialists of other countries to find real contents under the cloak of phraseology of every kind (including the "Marxian"). The pamphlet *Socialism and War* * published by a chauvinist paper, the *Clarion*,[113] before the war, is in this respect instructive. The pamphlet contains the anti-war "manifesto" of the American Socialist, Upton Sinclair, and a reply to it by Robert Blatchford, a chauvinist who has long been in agreement with Hyndman's imperialist position.

Sinclair is an emotional Socialist without theoretical grounding. He attacks the question "simply"; he is indignant over the approaching war and seeks refuge from it in Socialism.

> We are told [says Sinclair] that the [Socialist] movement is yet too weak, that we must wait for evolution. But evolution is working in the hearts of men; we are its instruments, and if we do not struggle, there is no evolution. We are told that the movement [against the war] would be crushed out; but I declare my faith that the crushing out of any rebellion which sought, from motive of sublime humanity, to prevent war, would be the greatest victory that Socialism has ever gained—would shake the conscience of civilisation and rouse the workers of the world as nothing in all history has yet done. Let us not be too fearful for our movement, nor put too much stress on numbers and the outward appearances of power. A thousand men aglow with faith and determination are stronger than a million grown cautious and respectable; and there is no danger to the Socialist movement so great as the danger of becoming an established institution.

This, as can be seen, is a naive, theoretically ungrounded, but deeply correct warning against vulgarising Socialism; it is also a call to revolutionary struggle.

What does Blatchford reply to Sinclair?

That war is caused by capitalist and militarist interests is true, he says. I am no less in favour of peace and of Socialism super-

* *Socialism and War*, the Clarion Press, 44 Warship Street, London, E. C.

seding capitalism than any other Socialist, he declares, but Sinclair will not convince me by "rhetorical and beautiful phrases." He will not be able to do away with the facts. Facts, friend Sinclair, are stubborn things, and the German danger is a fact. Neither we nor the German Socialists have power enough to stop the war, he continues. Sinclair exaggerates our powers tremendously. We are not united. We have neither money, nor arms, "nor discipline." What remains for us is to *help* the British government to increase its navy, for we have no other guarantee of peace, and there can be none.

In continental Europe the chauvinists were never so frank, either before or after the beginning of the war. In Germany we have, instead of frankness, Kautsky's hypocrisy and a play with sophisms. The same is true of Plekhanov. This is why it is instructive to cast a glance at the situation in a more advanced country. There nobody will be deceived by sophisms or a travesty of Marxism. There the questions are placed squarely and more truly. Let us learn from the more "advanced" English.

Sinclair is naive in his appeal, although this appeal is deeply true at bottom; he is naive because he ignores the half-century-old development of mass Socialism, the struggle of currents within it; because he does not see that an objectively revolutionary situation as well as a revolutionary organisation are prerequisites for the growth of an active revolutionary movement. This cannot be replaced by "sentiment." The grim and merciless struggle of powerful currents in Socialism, the opportunist and revolutionary one, cannot be evaded by rhetoric.

Blatchford forges ahead; he betrays the deeply hidden argument of the Kautskyists who are afraid to tell the truth. We are still weak, this is all, says Blatchford, but by this directness he at once reveals and denudes his opportunism and chauvinism. It becomes immediately apparent that he serves the bourgeoisie and the opportunists. In recognising the "weakness" of Socialism, he himself *weakens* it by preaching anti-Socialist bourgeois politics.

Like Sinclair, but in a reverse way, like a coward and not like a fighter, like a traitor and not like one "ecstatically brave," * he also ignores the prerequisites for creating a revolutionary situation.

As far as his practical conclusions, his politics (rejection of revolutionary activities, of propaganda in their favour, and preparation of them) are concerned, Blatchford, a vulgar chauvinist, is in absolute accord with Plekhanov and Kautsky.

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* Gorky's expression.—*Ed.*

Marxian words have in our days become a cover for absolute renunciation of Marxism; to be a Marxist one must expose the "Marxian" hypocrisy of the leaders of the Second International, one must fearlessly recognise the presence of a struggle of two currents in Socialism, one must follow the problems of this struggle to their logical conclusion. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the state of affairs in England where we see *Marxian* essence *without* Marxian words.

Written April-May, 1915.
First published in *Pravda,* No. 169, July 27, 1924.

COMBINING SERVILITY TO REACTION WITH DEMOCRATIC PRETENCES

THE Cadet collection of articles entitled *What Russia Expects of the War*[114] (Petrograd, 1915) is a very useful book for those wishing to acquaint themselves with the politics of the liberal intelligentsia. To what extent our Cadets and liberals have become chauvinists, is sufficiently known. In the present issue of our magazine, a special article deals with this question. However, the combination in one book of the works of various Cadets treating the various subjects relating to the war shows concretely the role not only of the Constitutional-Democratic Party but also of the liberal intelligentsia as a whole in present-day imperialist politics.

The specific function of such an intelligentsia and of this specific party is to cover up reaction and imperialism by all sorts of democratic phrases, assertions, sophisms, evasions. The chief article of the book, entitled *Territorial Acquisitions of Russia,* belongs to the pen of Milyukov, the Cadet leader. It was impossible not to put down in such an article the *real meaning* of the present war as far as Russia is concerned: its desire to seize Galicia, to take away from Austria and Germany a section of Poland, from Turkey Constantinople, the Straits, and Armenia. For a democratic cover, phrases are used about the unity of the Slavs, the interests of small nationalities, about the "menace to European peace" represented by Germany. Only in passing, almost casually, does Milyukov blurt out the truth in one of his phrases.

"To unite Eastern Galicia with Russia has long been the aim of one of the Russian political parties supported by one of the political parties of Galicia, the so-called Moscophiles" (49). That's it! "One of the Russian parties" referred to is the most reactionary party in Russia, that of Purishkevich and Co., a party of the feudal landowners headed by tsarism. This "party," tsarism, Purishkevich, etc., have long been intriguing both in Galicia and Armenia, etc., sparing no millions to bribe the "Moscophiles," halting before no crime to achieve the high aim of uniting Eastern Galicia with Russia. "War is a continuation of the politics" of *this* party. War was useful in that it has brushed aside all conventions, it has torn off all covers, it has shown the people the full truth, face to face: To retain the tsarist monarchy means to give away millions of the people's lives and billions of the people's money for the purpose of enslaving foreign peoples. It is these policies that were supported, that were practically served by the Constitutional-Democratic Party.

This truth is unpleasant to the liberal intellectual who considers himself to be humane, freedom-loving, and democratic, and who is made deeply indignant by the calumny that says that he is a servant to the Purishkeviches. The war has proven that this "calumny" is the most self-evident truth.

Let us cast a glance at other articles of the book.

> . . . Our future can be happy and bright only when international politics are resting on a foundation of justice. Faith in life, in its value, will at the same time be the triumph of peace [215]. . . . The Russian woman, and with her all thinking humanity . . . [hope that] when peace is concluded, all the belligerent states will simultaneously sign a pact according to which all international misunderstandings [what a word! As if what happened among the states were merely "misunderstandings"!] . . . shall be settled by arbitration [216].
>
> The Russian woman, representative of the people, will carry to the people the ideas of Christian love and brotherhood of peoples [216] . . . [Here the censor eliminated one line and a half; those were apparently highly "humanitarian" expressions like liberty, equality, fraternity] . . . Those who know that the writer of these lines can least of all be suspected of nationalism, stand in no need of being persuaded that the ideas here propounded have nothing whatsoever in common with any kind of national exclusiveness [83]. . . . Only now do we realise, do we feel in actual life that in modern wars we are threatened not by the loss of colonies, however precious, nor by failure to free other peoples, but by a disruption of the state itself [147].

Read and ponder over *how it is being done!* Learn how a quasi-democratic party conducts its politics, *i. e.*, leads the masses!

To serve the class of the Purishkeviches one must, at the decisive moments of history (at those moments when the aims of that class are to be achieved by war) help it, or at least "*offer no resistance to the war.*" At the same time one must *console* "the people," the "masses," "democracy," with fine words like justice, peace, national liberation, settling international conflicts by arbitration, brotherhood of peoples, liberty, reforms, democracy, universal suffrage, etc. While doing this one must strike one's chest in token of sincerity, swear high and low that "we" can least of all be suspected of nationalism, that "our" ideas have "absolutely nothing in common with any kind of national exclusiveness," that we are only fighting against the "disruption of the state"!

This is how it is being done.

This is how the liberal intellectuals make politics.

The very same thing in essence, but in different environment and in a somewhat altered form, is propounded by the liberal labour politicians, beginning with the *Nasha Zarya* which teaches the people and the proletariat "to offer no resistance to the war," continuing with the *Nashe Dyelo* which identifies itself with the views of Messrs. Potresov and Co.[115] (No. 2, p. 9), and Plekhanov[116] (No. 2, p. 103) and which reprints without a single dissenting remark the analogous ideas of Axelrod (No. 2, pp. 107-110), continuing further with Semkovsky, who battles in the *Nashe Slovo*[117] and in the *Izvestia* [*News*] of the Organisation Committee against "disruption," and ending with Chkheidze's fraction, the Organisation Committee and the Bund who are fighting tooth and nail against a "split" (with the group *Nashe Dyelo*). At the same time all of them are for the brotherhood of the workers, for peace, for internationalism, for whatever you please; they will sign whatever you wish; they will renounce "nationalism" millions of times under the one single ever so "small" condition that unity with that Russian political group which alone of the whole company has some weight, a group that, in a magazine and a paper, has taught and is teaching the workers opportunism, nationalism, non-resistance to the war, should not be disrupted.

This is how it is being done.

N. LENIN.

Written April-May, 1915.

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SOPHISMS OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS

THE *Nashe Dyelo* (No. 1, 1915), published in Petrograd by the Liquidators, is printing a translation of Kautsky's pamphlet, *Internationalism and War*. Mr. A. Potresov thereby declares his disagreement with Kautsky [118] who, in his judgment, at times appears like a "solicitor" (*i. e.*, a defender of German social-chauvinism who does not recognise the justice of the Franco-Russian species of the same genus), at times like a "judge" (*i. e.*, a Marxist who attempts to apply a Marxian method without prejudice).

In reality, both Mr. A. Potresov and Kautsky betray Marxism in the main issues, defending as they do by means of apparent sophisms national-liberal labour politics. Mr. A. Potresov is diverting the attention of the readers from the fundamentals while arguing with Kautsky over details. According to Mr. Potresov, the "solution" of the question as to the attitude of Anglo-French "democracy" towards the war (the author has in mind *labour* democracy) is "in general a good solution" (p. 69); those democracies, he says, "acted correctly" although their solution is not so much a conscious one as "it is in accord with a national solution by a happy coincidence."

The meaning of these words is clear. Mr. A. Potresov, under the Anglo-French flag, defends Russian chauvinism, justifying the patriotic tactics of the Socialists of the Triple Entente. Mr. Potresov argues with Kautsky not the way a Marxist would argue with a chauvinist, but as a Russian chauvinist with a German chauvinist. This is an old, hackneyed method, and it is only necessary to note that Mr. A. Potresov covers up and twists in all possible ways the simple and clear meaning of his words.

What is important is that on which Mr. A. Potresov and Kautsky *agree*. They agree, for instance, that "the internationalism of the present-day proletariat is compatible with defence of the fatherland" (K. Kautsky, p. 34 of the German edition of the Kautsky pamphlet). Mr. A. Potresov writes of the "specific situation of a state made the target of a ruinous onslaught." Kautsky writes: "The people are afraid of nothing more than of enemy invasion. . . . Once it has gone so far that the population sees the cause of the war, not in its own government, but in the evil plottings of a neighbouring state—and what government does not attempt to inculcate such a view into the masses by means of the press, etc.!—then . . . the unanimous desire to defend the frontiers against the enemy flares up in the entire population. If there are individuals who would be bold enough to try to prevent the dispatch of armies to the frontier, . . . the infuriated mob itself would kill them." (K. Kautsky, p. 33 of the article of 1911.) [119]

This is the quasi-Marxian defence of the fundamental idea of all social-chauvinists.

As early as 1911, Kautsky saw very clearly that the government (and the bourgeoisie) would *deceive* "the people, the population, the mob" by blaming the "evil plottings" of the other country. The question arises: Is the support of such deception—whether by means of voting for appropriations, or by speeches, articles, etc.—compatible with internationalism and Socialism, or is it tantamount to the policy of a national-liberal labour party? Kautsky behaves like the most shameless "solicitor," like the worst sophist, when he substitutes for this question another, namely, whether it is feasible for "individuals" to "interfere with the dispatch of armies" against the will of the majority of the people deceived by its government. This is not the point of dispute. This is not the main question. The petty-bourgeois that have been deceived by the government must be dissuaded. The deception must be made clear to them; sometimes it is necessary to accompany them to war and cleverly to wait until the war experience has sobered their heads. Not this is under discussion but the question whether it is permissible for Socialists to participate in the deception of the "people" by the bourgeoisie. Kautsky and A. Potresov justify such deception though they know perfectly well that the guilt for the imperialist war of 1914 falls equally on the "evil plottings" of the governments and the bourgeoisie of all "great" nations, England and France, Germany and Russia. This is clearly said, for instance, in the Basle resolution of 1912.

That the "people," *i. e.*, the mass of petty-bourgeois and a portion of the deceived workers, believe in the bourgeois fable of the "evil plottings" of the enemy, is beyond doubt. It is, however, the task of Social-Democracy to fight against this deception, and not to support it. All Social-Democrats in all countries said long before the war, and reiterated at Basle, that *every* great nation strives to strengthen and widen its domination over the colonies, to oppress small nations, etc. The war is conducted for the division of colonies and for the plunder of foreign lands; thieves are fighting among themselves. To refer to the fact that this or the other thief is at this particular moment suffering defeat, to do this in order to represent the interests of the thieves as the interests of the people or the fatherland, is a shameless bourgois lie. To the "people" which suffers from war we must tell the *truth,* namely, that the defence against war sufferings is impossible without overthrowing the governments and the bourgeoisie of every belligerent country. To defend Belgium *by means* of throttling Galicia or Hungary is not a "defence of the fatherland."

But, one may say, Marx himself, while condemning wars, took, for instance in 1854-76, the side of one of the warring countries when, contrary to the will of the Socialists, the war had become a fact. This is the main contention and the main trump of Kautsky's pamphlet. It is also the position of Mr. Potresov, for whom internationalism means finding out *whose success* in the war is more desirable or less harmful from the standpoint of the interests, not of a national, but of the whole world proletariat. The war, he says, is being conducted by the governments and the bourgeoisie; as to the proletariat, it must decide which government's victory is less dangerous for the workers of the whole world.

The sophism of these reasonings consists in substituting for the present epoch another long past historical epoch. The main features of the old wars referred to by Kautsky were these: (1) They solved the problem of bourgeois-democratic reforms and the overthrow of absolutism or foreign oppression; (2) Objective prerequisites for a Socialist revolution were not yet ripe at that time and none of the Socialists *prior to the war* could speak of utilising wars for "hastening the collapse of capitalism" as did the Stuttgart (1907) and Basle (1912) resolutions; (3) There were no Socialist parties of any strength, mass appeal, and proven in battles, in the countries of *either* of the belligerent groups.

To be brief, it is no wonder that Marx and the Marxists confined themselves to deciding *which* bourgeoisie's victory would be more harmless to (or more favourable for) the world proletariat at a time when it was impossible to think of a general proletarian movement against the governments and the bourgeoisie in all the belligerent countries.

For the first time in world history, the Socialists of all belligerent countries gathered together, long before the war, and declared that they would utilise the war "to hasten the collapse of capitalism" (Stuttgart resolution, 1907). In other words, they recognised that objective conditions had become ripe for such "hastening of the collapse," *i. e.*, for a Socialist revolution. In other words, they threatened the governments with a revolution. In Basle (1912) they said the same thing more clearly still, referring to the Commune and to October-December, 1905; *i. e.*, to civil war.

When the war broke out, the Socialists who had threatened the governments with revolution and had appealed to the proletariat to make a revolution, began to refer to what happened half a century previously and are now justifying the support of the governments and the bourgeoisie by the Socialists. The Marxist Gorter is a thousand times right when in his Dutch brochure, *Imperialism, the World War and the Social-Democracy* [120] (p. 84), he compares the "radicals" of the Kautsky type with the liberals of 1848 who were courageous in word and traitors in deed.

For decades, a conflict between the revolutionary Social-Democratic and the opportunist elements was growing within European Socialism. The crisis has come to a head. The war has burst the abscess. The majority of the official parties have been overwhelmed by the national-liberal labour politicians who defend the privileges of "their own" "home" bourgeoisie, *its* priority right to possess colonies, to oppress small nations, etc. Both Kautsky and A. Potresov shield, defend and justify a national-liberal labour policy instead of exposing it before the proletariat. This is the substance of the social-chauvinists' sophisms.

Mr. A. Potresov was careless enough to drop a phrase to the effect that the Stuttgart formula was "untenable in principle" (p. 79). That is good! Open renegades are better for the proletariat than secret ones. Go on, Mr. Potresov, repudiate Stuttgart and Basle. This is more honest!

Kautsky, the diplomat, is more crafty than Mr. A. Potresov; he does not repudiate Stuttgart and Basle. He only—"only!"—quotes the Basle Manifesto, *omitting* all references to revolution! It seems that censorship has interfered both with A. Potresov and Kautsky.

A. Potresov and Kautsky seem to be ready to speak of revolution when this is permitted by the censors.

Let us hope that A. Potresov, Kautsky or their followers will propose to substitute for the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions something like this: "Should the war break out in spite of our efforts, we must decide from the standpoint of the world proletariat, what is more advantageous for it: that India be robbed by England or by Germany, that the Negroes of Africa be poisoned by alcohol and stripped of their goods by the French or by the Germans, that Turkey be oppressed by the Austro-Germans or by the Anglo-Franco-Russian Alliance, that the Germans should throttle Belgium or the Russians Galicia, that China be divided by the Japanese or by the Americans," etc.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 41, May 1, 1915.

THE QUESTION OF THE UNITY OF INTERNATIONALISTS

THE war has brought about a deep crisis in all international Socialism. Like every crisis, the present crisis of Socialism has revealed more clearly its deeply hidden internal contradictions; it has torn off many false and conventional cloaks; it has shown in the sharpest and most flagrant fashion what is rotten and antiquated in Socialism, and what is the guarantee of its further growth and advance towards victory.

Nearly all Social-Democrats of Russia feel that the old divisions and groupings are, if not antiquated, at least undergoing a transformation. At the forefront we have groups divided on the main question raised by the war, namely, "internationalists" and "social-patriots." We take these terms from the editorial of the *Nashe Slovo*, No. 42,[121] without at present dwelling on whether they ought not to be supplemented by another division of groups, namely, revolutionary Social-Democrats and national-liberal labour politicians.

It is not a question of names, to be sure; the essence of the main groupings has been correctly indicated in the *Nashe Slovo*. The internationalists, it says, are "united in their negative attitude towards social-patriotism as represented by Plekhanov." The editors appeal to the "now disunited groups," urging them "to come to an understanding and unite at least for a single act—for expressing the attitude of Russian Social-Democracy towards the present war and Russian social-patriotism."

Not content with the press appeal, the editors of the *Nashe Slovo* addressed a special letter to us and to the Organisation Committee, proposing that a conference be called to discuss this question, and that they take part in it. In our reply we pointed out the necessity "to clarify some preliminary problems so as to know whether we are at one in the main thing." We particularly dwelt on two preliminary questions: (1) No declaration, we said, would be able to unmask the "social-patriots" (the editors named Plekhanov, Alexinsky, and the well-known group of Petrograd Liquidationist writers, adherents of the journal *X Y Z*)[122] who "falsify the will of the advanced proletariat of Russia" (an expression used by the editors of the *Nashe Slovo*); to unmask the social-patriots, we said, a protracted struggle is necessary; (2) What reasons are there, we asked, for counting the Organisation Committee among the "internationalists"?

In its turn the foreign secretariat of the Organisation Committee transmitted to us a copy of its reply to the *Nashe Slovo.* The gist of the reply was that a "preliminary" selection of some groups and the "exclusion of others" were inadmissible, and that "to the conference must be invited the foreign representatives of all those party centres and groups which were . . . present at the Brussels Conference of the International Socialist Bureau before the war" (letter dated March 25, 1912).

Thus, the Organisation Committee declines on principle to confer with the internationalists, since it wishes to confer also with the social-patriots (it is known that Plekhanov's and Alexinsky's policies were represented at Brussels). In the same spirit has also been framed the resolution of the Social-Democrats gathered in Nervi (*Nashe Slovo,* No. 53), a resolution adopted after listening to Yonov's report (and obviously expressing the views of this representative of the most radical and internationalist elements of the Bund).[123] This resolution, which in many other ways is highly characteristic and precious as outlining the "middle road" sought by many Socialists living abroad, expresses sympathy for the "principles" of the *Nashe Slovo,* at the same time, however, it expresses disagreement with the *Nashe Slovo's* position, "which consists in drawing organisational boundaries, in uniting the Socialists-internationalists only, and in defending the necessity of splits within the Socialist proletarian parties historically formed." The gathering considers the "one-sided treatment" (of these questions) by the *Nashe Slovo* to be "very detrimental to the clarification of the problems connected with rebuilding the International."

We had occasion to point out that the views of Axelrod, the official representative of the Organisation Committee, are social-chauvinist. The *Nashe Slovo* has not replied to this, either in the press or in correspondence. We pointed out that this was also the position of the Bund, with a shade of preference for pro-German chauvinism. The Nervi resolution has given an indirect but very important factual confirmation of this. It declares the unification of internationalists alone to be a detrimental policy of splits. The question has been presented with a clarity deserving gratitude.

Clearer yet is the Organisation Committee's reply, which expresses, not an indirect, but a direct and formal attitude towards the issue: We must not confer, it says, *without* the social-patriots, we must confer *with them.*

We ought to be thankful to the Organisation Committee for confirming the correctness of our views in its letter to the *Nashe Slovo.*

Does that mean that the *Nashe Slovo's very idea* of uniting the internationalists has suffered shipwreck? No. So long as there is ideological solidarity and a sincere desire to combat social-patriotism, no failures of any conferences will stop the unification of the internationalists. The editors of the *Nashe Slovo* have at their disposal the great instrument of a daily paper. They can do something infinitely more practical and earnest than calling conferences and issuing declarations; they can appeal to *all* the groups, requesting them, while doing so of their own accord, (1) immediately to work out full, precise, unequivocal and perfectly clear definitions of the meaning of internationalism (it being a fact that Vandervelde, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Lensch and Haenisch also call themselves internationalists!), of the meaning of opportunism, of what to understand by the collapse of the Second International, of the tasks and means of fighting social-patriotism, etc.; (2) to rally forces for an earnest struggle in defence of definite principles, not only abroad, but mainly in Russia.

Really, will anybody have the courage to deny that there is no other way for the victory of internationalism over social-patriotism, and that there can be none? Half a century of Russian political emigration (and thirty years of *Social-Democratic* emigration)—have they not proven that all declarations, conferences, etc., abroad are powerless, unimportant, fictitious, if they are not supported by a lasting movement of a certain social stratum in Russia? Does not the present war teach us also that everything immature or decaying, everything conventional or diplomatic, will fall into dust after the first shock?

During the eight months of the war *all* Social-Democratic centres, groups, currents, shades of opinion, have had conferences with whomsoever they could and would; they have already made their declarations, *i. e.*, they have allowed their opinions to be publicly known. The task is now different, it is to come *closer to action.* Less faith in *grandiloquent* declarations and *spectacular* conferences; more energy to work out such exact definitions and advices for writers, propagandists, agitators, for all thinking workers, written in such a manner that it would be impossible not to understand them. More clarity and purposefulness in gathering forces for the extended work of putting those advices into practice. The editors of the *Nashe Slovo,* we repeat, have been given much—they are a daily paper!—and so much will be demanded of them by way of carrying out this "minimum programme."

One more remark: Exactly five years ago, in May, 1910, we pointed out, in our press abroad, a very important political fact, more "powerful" than the conferences and declarations of many *very* "powerful" Social-Democratic centres, namely, the fact that a group of writers in the legal press working *on the very same journal X Y Z* had been formed in Russia. Five years, replete with events in the history of the labour movement of Russia and of the whole world, have passed. What is their lesson? Has it not become clear that we have in Russia the social nucleus for cementing the elements of a *national-liberal labour party* (after the "European" pattern!)? What conclusions are forced on all Social-Democrats by the circumstance that, with the exception of the *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* [*Problems of Insurance*],[124] only *one* current expresses itself openly in Russia, namely, the *Nashe Dyelo,* the *Strakhovaniye Rabochikh* [*Workmen's Insurance*],[125] the *Severny Golos* [*Northern Voice*],[126] Maslov and Plekhanov?

We repeat: Less faith in grandiloquent declarations, more courage to face earnest political realities!

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 41, May 1, 1915.

BOURGEOIS PHILANTHROPISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

THE *Economist,* journal of English millionaires, maintains a very instructive line in relation to the war. The representative of the most advanced capital, that of the oldest and richest capitalist country, sheds tears over the war and incessantly expresses a wish for peace. Those Social-Democrats who, together with the opportunists and Kautsky, think that the Socialist programme consists in the propaganda of peace, may be convinced of their error by reading the English *Economist.* They may realise that their programme is not Socialist, but bourgeois-pacifist. Dreams of peace without the propaganda of revolutionary action only express the horror of war and have nothing to do with Socialism.

Moreover, the English *Economist* is for peace just because it is afraid of revolution. In the issue of February 13, 1915, for instance, we read:

> Philanthropists profess to hope that the peace settlement will bring with it a great international reduction of armies and armaments. . . . But those who know the forces which really control the diplomacy of Europe see no Utopias. The outlook is for bloody revolutions and fierce wars between labour and capital, or between the masses and the governing classes of Continental Europe.[127]

In the issue of March 27, 1915, we again find the expression of a desire for peace which would guarantee the freedom of nationalities as promised by Edward Grey, etc. Should this hope fail to be realised, the paper says, the war "will end in revolutionary chaos, beginning no one can say where, and ending in no one can say what."[128]

The English pacifist millionaires understand modern politics much more correctly than the opportunists, the followers of Kautsky and similar Socialist peace whiners. The Messrs. Bourgeois know, first, that phrases of a democratic peace are an idle, foolish Utopia as long as the old forces "actually direct diplomacy," *i. e.,* as long as the class of capitalists has not been expropriated. Second, the Messrs.

Bourgeois appreciate the perspective, soberly foreseeing "bloody revolutions," a "revolutionary chaos." A Socialist revolution always appears to the bourgeoisie as "revolutionary chaos."

We see in the realistic politics of the capitalist countries three kinds of peace sympathies.

(1) The enlightened millionaires wish to hasten peace because they are afraid of revolutions. A "democratic" peace (without annexations, with limitation of armaments, etc.) they soberly and correctly describe as Utopia under capitalism.

This philistine Utopia is preached by the opportunists, the adherents of Kautsky, etc.

(2) The unenlightened masses of the people (the petty bourgois, semi-proletarians, a portion of the workers, etc.) desiring peace in a very hazy form, express a growing protest against the war, a growing, as yet undefined revolutionary sentiment.

(3) The enlightened advance-guard of the proletariat, the revolutionary Social-Democrats, attentively watch the sentiments of the masses, utilising their growing tendency towards peace, not in order to support the vulgar Utopias of a "democratic" peace under capitalism, not in order to encourage hopes for the intervention of the philanthropists, the authorities, the bourgeoisie, but in order to make the vague revolutionary sentiments clear, to enlighten the masses by a thousand facts of pre-war politics, to enlighten them consistently, unflinchingly. Basing themselves on the experience of the masses and on their sentiments, they proceed to *show* the necessity of mass revolutionary actions against the bourgeoisie and the governments of their country as the *only* road towards democracy and Socialism.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 41, May 1, 1915.

THE COLLAPSE OF PLATONIC INTERNATIONALISM

We have already pointed out (see the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 41)* that it is the duty of the *Nashe Slovo* at least to come out with a definite platform if it wishes its internationalism to be taken seriously. In No. 85 of the *Nashe Slovo* (May 9), as if in reply to us, there appeared a resolution adopted at a meeting of the editors and the Paris collaborators of that paper. "Two members of the staff," we are informed, "being in accord with the contents of the resolution, declared they would hand in their dissenting opinion as to the organisational method of the internal party policy in Russia."[129] This resolution represents a most noteworthy document of political perplexity and helplessness.

The word internationalism is repeated many, many times; "complete ideological separation from all the varieties of Socialist nationalism" is declared; the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions are quoted. The intentions are good, no doubt, but—the thing smacks of phraseology, since it is impossible and unnecessary to have a really "complete" separation from "all" extant varieties of social-nationalism, just as it is impossible and unnecessary to have a complete list of all the varieties of capitalist exploitation to become an enemy of capitalism. What is necessary and possible is to draw a clear line of demarcation with the main varieties, for instance, with that of Plekhanov, Potresov (the *Nashe Dyelo*), the Bund, Axelrod, Kautsky. The resolution promises much, but gives nothing; it threatens a complete separation from all varieties but it is afraid to mention at least the most significant of them by name.

In the English Parliament it is considered uncivil to call a man by name, the practice being to mention only the "noble lord" or the "honourable member" for this or that constituency. What excellent Anglomaniacs, what unusually refined diplomats those *Nashe Slovo* people are! They so gracefully evade the core of the issue, they so politely feed their readers with formulae which serve to hide their thoughts. They avow "friendly relations" ("Guizot in person," says one of Turgenev's characters)[130] towards all the organisations "in so far as they realise . . . the principles of revolutionary internationalism," and they maintain "friendly relations" precisely with those who do not realise those principles.

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* See pp. 177, 178.—*Ed.*

The "ideological separation" which the *Nashe Slovo* people proclaim the more solemnly the less they are willing and able to carry it out, must consist in explaining the *origin* of social nationalism, the *source* of its strength, the *means* to fight against it. The social-nationalists do not call themselves and do not admit to being social-nationalists. They make, and are compelled to make, every effort to hide behind a pseudonym, to throw dust in the eyes of the working masses, to efface the traces of their connections with opportunism, to cover up their betrayal, *i.e.*, their having practically gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie, their union with the governments and the general staffs. Basing themselves on this union, and holding all the important positions, the social-nationalists, more than anybody else, clamour for the "unity" of the Social-Democratic parties and accuse all the enemies of opportunism of splitting tendencies. Look, for instance, at the latest official circular of the administration of the German Social-Democratic Party (*Vorstand*) against the magazines of *real* internationalism, the *Lichtstrahlen* [*Rays*][131] and *Die Internationale* [*The International*].[132] Those magazines did not have to declare either "friendly relations" towards the revolutionaries or "a complete ideological separation from all the varieties of social-nationalism"; they directly started from the separation, and they started it so that in truth "*all* the varieties" of opportunism have raised a savage howl, thus proving how well the internationalists' arrows hit the target.

But how about the *Nashe Slovo?*

It raises a revolt against social-nationalism while standing on its knees before it, since it fails to unmask the most dangerous defenders of this bourgeois current (like Kautsky); it does not declare war against opportunism, but, on the contrary, passes it over in silence; it does not undertake, and does not point out, any real steps towards liberating Socialism from its shameful patriotic captivity. By saying that neither unity nor a split with those who joined the bourgeoisie is imperative, the *Nashe Slovo* practically surrenders to the opportunists, at the same time, however, making a beautiful gesture which can be interpreted as meaning either that it threatens the opportunists with its dreadful ire, or that it waves to them with its hand. If the deft opportunists who know how to appreciate a combination of radical phrases with moderate practice were compelled to reply to the resolution of the *Nashe Slovo,* they would most probably say something similar to the statement of those two staff members, namely, that they are in accord with the "general contents" (because we certainly are not social nationalists, nothing of the kind!), as to the "organisational methods of internal party policy"; however, they will in due time hand in their "dissenting opinion." They run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

The *Nashe Slovo's* subtle diplomacy was shattered to splinters as soon as it had to touch upon Russia.

"Party unification under the conditions of the past epoch proved impossible in Russia," says the resolution, meaning that the unification of a labour party with the group of legalist Liquidators proved impossible. This is an indirect recognition of the collapse of the Brussels *Bloc* formed to save the Liquidators. Why is the *Nashe Slovo* afraid to recognise this collapse directly? Why is it afraid openly to make clear to the workers the causes of this collapse? Is it not because the collapse of the *Bloc* proved that the policy of all its participants was wrong? Is it because the *Nashe Slovo* wishes to maintain "friendly relations" with two (no less than two) "varieties" of social-nationalism, namely, with the Bundists and the Organisation Committee (Axelrod) who made declarations in the press, pointing to their plans and hopes for resurrecting the Brussels *Bloc?* "New conditions . . . undermine the ground from under the feet of the old factions. . . ."

Is not the reverse true? New conditions have not at all eliminated Liquidationism, they have not even shaken its main centre (the *Nasha Zarya*), all personal vacillations and changes of front notwithstanding. New conditions have deepened and sharpened disagreements with that centre, since, besides being Liquidationist, it has also become social-nationalist! The *Nashe Slovo* evades the question of Liquidationism, because that question is unpleasant to it; the old has been undermined by the new, it says, but it keeps silence about the *new ground under the feet of old Liquidationism,* the social-nationalist one! Amusing shiftiness. Let us not say a word about the *Nasha Zarya* because it is no more; let us not say a word about the *Nashe Dyelo* probably because Potresov, Cherevanin, Maslov and Co. may be looked upon as new-born political babes.

Not only upon Potresov and Co., upon themselves as well would the *Nashe Slovo* editors look as upon newly born. Listen to this:

> Faced by the fact that the factional and inter-factional groupings created in the past epoch serve even at the present transitional moment as the only [note that!] centres, however imperfect, for organisational unification of the advanced workers, the *Nashe Slovo* is of the opinion that the interests of its main activity directed towards uniting the internationalists, equally exclude organisational submission of the paper, direct or indirect, to one of the old party groupings, as well as artificial unification of all like-minded into a separate faction politically opposing the other groupings.

What is that? How shall we take it? *In view of the fact* that new conditions are undermining the old groupings, we recognise the latter as the *only* real ones! *In view of the fact* that new conditions demand a new grouping, not for the purpose of Liquidationism but for the purpose of internationalism, we reject unification of internationalists as "artificial"! A veritable apotheosis of political impotence!

After two hundred days of preaching internationalism, the *Nashe Slovo* has admitted its complete political bankruptcy. It does not want to "submit" to the old groupings (why such a frightened word as "submit"? Why not "join," "support," "declare solidarity with"?); it does not want to create new ones. We shall live in the old way, it says, in groupings created for Liquidationism; we shall "submit" to them, while using the *Nashe Slovo* for a sensational signboard, or viewing it as a holiday walk through the gardens of internationalist phraseology. The *Nashe Slovo* writers will continue writing; the *Nashe Slovo* readers will continue reading, and that will be the beginning and the end of all.

For two hundred days "we" were talking of uniting the internationalists, only to come to the conclusion that "we" can unite nobody, not even ourselves, the editors and collaborators of the *Nashe Slovo*, and that such unification is "artificial." What a victory for Potresov, the Bundists, Axelrod! And what a deft deception of the workers! On the surface, splendid internationalist phrases woven by a truly factional *Nashe Slovo* freed from old, outlived groupings; in reality, the "only" points of unification are the old groupings.

The bankruptcy of its political ideology now admitted by the *Nashe Slovo* is no accident, it is an inevitable result of the attempts to evade in words the actual inter-relation of forces. This inter-relation in the labour movement of Russia reduces itself to the struggle of the Liquidationist and social-patriotic current (the *Nashe Dyelo*) against that Marxian Social-Democratic Labour Party which was resurrected by the January, 1912, Conference, strengthened by the elections in the working class sector to the Fourth Imperial Duma, consolidated by the *Pravdist* papers of 1912-1914, and represented by the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction. This party continued its fight against the bourgeois current of Liquidationism by fighting the no less bourgeois current of social-patriotism. The correctness of the line of this party, our party, was confirmed by the great world-historic experience of the European War, and by the tiny, miniature experience of the new, the one thousand and first non-factional attempt at unification on the part of the *Nashe Slovo*: this attempt proved a fiasco, confirming the resolution of the Berne Conference (*Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 40) concerning "platonic internationalists." *

Real internationalists will not wish either to stay in the old Liquidationist groupings (while hiding this from the workers) or to remain outside of groupings. They will come to our party.

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* See p. 150.—*Ed.*

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 42, May 21, 1915.

THE MAIN WORK OF GERMAN OPPORTUNISM ON THE WAR

Eduard David's book, *Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg* [*Social-Democracy in the World War*], (*Vorwärts* edition, Berlin, 1915) contains a good compilation of facts and arguments relative to the tactics of the official German Social-Democratic Party in the present war. For those who follow the opportunist and Social-Democratic literature of Germany in general, there is nothing new in the book. The book, however, is very useful and not only as a reference book. Whoever wishes to gain deeper insight into the world-historic collapse of German Social-Democracy, whoever wishes really to understand how and why out of a foremost party of Social-Democracy there has "of a sudden" (seemingly of a sudden) become a party of lackeys of the German bourgeoisie and the Junkers, whoever wishes attentively to scrutinise the meaning of the current sophisms that serve to justify and cover up that collapse, will find E. David's boresome book far from being boresome. As a matter of fact, David has a certain cohesion of opinions, and he carries the conviction of a liberal labour politician which is entirely lacking in the works of Kautsky, for instance, who is hypocritical and follows the current.

David is a thorough opportunist, an old contributor to the German *Nashe Dyelo*, the *Sozialistische Monatshefte;* he is the author of a big volume on the agrarian question in which there is not a grain of Socialism or Marxism. That such an individual, whose entire life was devoted to corrupting the labour movement in accord with the wish of the bourgeoisie, could become one of many no less opportunist *leaders* of the party, a Deputy to boot, and even a member of the Administration [*Vorstand*] of the German Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction, this alone gives cause for serious questioning as to how long, deep, and virulent the process of putrefaction within the German Social-Democracy actually was.

David's book has no scientific value whatever, since the author cannot or would not even approach the question as to how the main classes of present-day society for decades have been preparing, fostering, and perfecting their present attitude towards the war, doing this by means of certain politics rooted in certain class interests. The very thought that without such investigation there can be no Marxist attitude towards the war, and that only such an investigation can serve as a basis for studying the *ideology* of the various classes in their attitude towards the war, is entirely alien to David. David is an *advocate* of liberal labour politics who adapts all his exposition and all his arguments to the task of influencing the *workers'* audiences, of concealing from them the weak points of his position, of making liberal tactics acceptable to them, of stifling the proletarian revolutionary instincts by the greatest possible number of authoritative examples from the "Tactics of the Socialists in the Western European States" (Chapter VII of David's book), etc., etc.

From an ideological standpoint David's book is therefore interesting only in so far as it offers an opportunity to analyse how the bourgeoisie *must* speak to the workers *in order to influence them.* The essence of E. David's ideological position, looked upon from this, the only correct point of view, is contained in the following statement: "The meaning of our vote [for military appropriations]: *We voted not for the war but against defeat*" (p. 3, table of contents, and many passages in the book). This is the *leitmotif* of the entire book. Made to fit this main thesis were the examples of how Marx, Engels, and Lassalle stood in relation to the national wars of Germany (Chapter II), the data about "the gigantic plans of conquest of the Triple Entente" (Chapter IV), and also the diplomatic history of the war (Chapter V) which is reduced to whitewashing Germany by quoting the ridiculously insignificant and no less ridiculously insincere official exchange of telegrams on the eve of the war, etc. In a special chapter (VI) entitled "The Magnitude of the Danger," observations and data are contained on the preponderance of power on the side of the Triple Entente, on the reactionary nature of tsarism, etc. Of course, David is entirely in favour of *peace.* The foreword to the book, dated May 1, 1915, winds up with the slogan, "Peace on Earth!" Of course David is an internationalist; the German Social-Democratic Party, he says, "has not betrayed the spirit of the International" (p. 8); it "fought against the poisonous harvest of hatred among the peoples" (p. 8); it "declared from the very first day of the war that in principle it was ready for peace as soon as the safety of the country was secured" (p. 8).

David's book is striking proof of the fact that the liberal bourgeoisie (and their agents in the labour movement, *i.e.*, the opportunists), in order to influence the workers and the masses in general, are ready to swear allegiance to internationalism any number of times, to accept the slogan of peace, to renounce the annexationist aims of the war, to condemn chauvinism, and so on and so forth, anything *except* revolutionary action against their own government, anything that would justify being "against defeat." In point of fact this ideology, mathematically speaking, is both *necessary and sufficient* to fool the workers. One cannot offer them less because it is impossible to rally the masses without promising them a just peace, without scaring them with the danger of invasion, without swearing allegiance to internationalism; one need not offer them more because all that is "more," *i. e.*, the seizure of colonies, the annexation of foreign territories, the pillaging of conquered countries, the attainment of advantageous treaties will be carried out, *not* by the liberal bourgeoisie directly, but by the imperialist-militarist governmental war clique *after* the war.

The roles are well distributed; while the government and the military clique, supported by the billionaires and by all the bourgeois "men of affairs," wage the war, the liberals comfort and fool the masses by nationalist-defensive war ideology, by the promises of a democratic peace, etc. E. David's ideology is the ideology of the liberal humanitarian pacifist bourgeois, so is the ideology of the Russian opportunists of the Organisation Committee, who fight against the desirability of defeat, against the disruption of Russia, for the slogan of peace, etc.

Non-liberal tactics, differing in principle from the above, begin where there begins a decisive break with *any* justification of participating in the war; where there is *in practice* the politics of propaganda and preparation of revolutionary actions during the war and for the purpose of utilising the difficulties of the war against the respective governments. David does approach this borderline, the real borderline between bourgeois and proletarian politics, but he approaches it only with the purpose of evading the unpleasant subject. He mentions the Basle Manifesto several times, but he carefully avoids all revolutionary passages contained therein; he recalls how Vaillant appealed in Basle "for a military strike and social revolution" (p. 119), but only to *defend* himself with the example of Vaillant the chauvinist, not with the purpose of quoting and analysing the revolutionary purposes of the resolution of the Basle Congress.

David reprints a considerable portion of the Manifesto of our Central Committee, including its main slogan, that of turning the imperialist war into civil war, but he does it only to declare these "Russian" tactics nothing short of "madness and crass distortion of the decisions of the International" (pp. 169, 172). This, he says, is Hervéism (p. 176); in Hervé's book, he says, "is contained the whole theory of Lenin, Luxemburg, Radek, Pannekoek, etc." But, my dear David, is not there some Hervéism in the revolutionary passages of the Basle resolution and the Communist Manifesto? The mention of the latter document is as unpleasant to David as the name of our magazine recalling that very document is unpleasant to Semkovsky. The thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* to the effect that "the workers have no fatherland" has in David's conviction "long been disproved" (p. 176*ff.*). As to the question of nationalities, David, in the entire concluding chapter of his book, serves us with the most vulgar bourgeois nonsense about the "biological law of differentiation" (!!), etc.

What is international is not at all anti-national; we stand for the right of nations to self-assertion; we are against oppressing the weak nations, David asserts, without understanding (or rather making the appearance of not understanding) that to justify participation in the imperialist war, to advance in this war the slogan "against defeat" means to act not only as an anti-Socialist, but also as an anti-national politician. For the present imperialist war is a war of the great nations (*i. e.*, those who oppress a number of other nations), conducted *for the purpose* of oppressing new nations. One cannot be "national" in an imperialist war without being a Socialist statesman, *i.e.*, without recognising the right of the oppressed nations to liberation, to separation from the great powers that oppress them. In the era of imperialism there can be no other *salvation* for the *majority* of the nations of the world outside of revolutionary action undertaken by the proletariat of the great nations and reaching beyond the boundaries of nationality, breaking those boundaries, overthrowing the international bourgeoisie. While the bourgeoisie is not overthrown, there remain nations known as "great powers," *i. e.*, there remains the oppression of nine-tenths of the nations of the whole world. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie will tremendously accelerate the collapse of every kind of national *partition* without decreasing, but on the contrary increasing millions of times, the "differentiation" of humanity, if we are to understand by this the wealth and the variety of spiritual life, trends of ideas, tendencies, shadings.

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THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

THE most interesting and most recent material for this timely question has been furnished by the International Conference of Socialist Women, just adjourned in Berne.[133] The readers will find below a description of the conference and the texts of the resolutions, the one adopted and the one rejected.* In the present article we wish to discuss only one side of the question. The representatives of the women's organisations that are united with the Organisation Committee, the Dutch women from Troelstra's party, the Swiss women from organisations sharply combating the *Berner Tagwacht* for its alleged excessive radicalism, the French representative, not wishing to disagree on any important point with the official party which notoriously adheres to the social-chauvinist point of view, the English women who are hostile to the idea of a clear division between pacifism and revolutionary proletarian tactics—all of them agreed with the "Left" German Social-Democrats on one resolution. The representatives of the women's organisations connected with the Central Committee of our party disagreed with them, preferring to remain for a while in isolation rather than enter *such* a bloc.

What is the main point of these disagreements? What principles, what general political significance, are involved in this conflict?

At first glance, the "middle of the road" resolution uniting the opportunists and part of the Left Wing looks very seemly and correct in principle. The war is declared to be imperialist, the "defence of the fatherland" idea is condemned, the workers are called to mass demonstrations, etc., etc. It would seem as if our resolution differed *only* by a few sharper *expressions* such as "betrayal," "opportunism," "quitting the bourgeois cabinets," etc.

It is from this standpoint undoubtedly that the withdrawal of the representatives of the women's organisations connected with the Central Committee of our party will be criticised.

However, if we pay more attention to the question without confining ourselves to a purely "formal" recognition of one or the other truth, we will realise that such criticism is entirely devoid of foundation.

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* See Appendices: Documents, III.—*Ed.*

Two conceptions, two evaluations of the war and the tasks of the International, two tactics of proletarian parties clashed at the conference. One view: there is no collapse of the International; no deep and earnest hindrances for a return from chauvinism to Socialism; no strong "internal enemy" in the shape of opportunism; no direct, obvious betrayal of Socialism by opportunism. Conclusion: let us condemn nobody; let us grant "amnesty" to the transgressors of the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions; let us confine ourselves to advising a more radical course, to call the masses to demonstrations.

Another view is entirely opposed to the former on every one of the above-mentioned points. Nothing is more harmful, more disastrous for the proletarian cause than a continuation of inner party *diplomacy* in relation to the opportunists and social-chauvinists. The majority resolution proved acceptable to the opportunist delegates and to the adherents of the present-day official parties just because it is permeated by the spirit of diplomacy. Such diplomacy is throwing dust into the eyes of the working masses which are *at present* led by the official social-patriots. An absolutely erroneous and harmful idea is being inculcated into the working masses, the idea that the present Social-Democratic parties, with their present central committees, are capable of changing their course from a wrong to a right one.

This is not so. This is a very misleading and most pernicious illusion. The present-day Social-Democratic parties and their central committees are *incapable* of seriously changing their course. *In practice* everything will remain as of old; the "radical" wishes expressed in the majority resolution will remain innocent desiderata; an unerring political instinct told this to the adherents of Troelstra's party and of the present central committee of the French party, who voted for such a resolution. An appeal for mass demonstrations can have a serious practical meaning only when it is most actively supported by the present central committees of the Social-Democratic parties.

Can one expect such support? Obviously not. It is well known that such an appeal will meet, not with support, but with an obdurate (most of the time *covert*) resistance on the part of the central committees.

If this were told directly to the workers, they would know the *truth;* they would know that in order to make *effective* the "radical wishes," a radical change in the line of the Social-Democratic parties is necessary, a most stubborn struggle against the opportunists with their "centrist" friends is required. As it is, the workers were being *lulled* by radical desiderata while the conference *refused* to call by name, loudly and clearly, that evil which must be combated if those wishes are to be realised.

The diplomatic leaders who at present conduct the chauvinist policy of the Social-Democratic parties will know excellently how to utilise the weakness, the indecisiveness, the insufficient clarity of the majority resolution. Astute parliamentarians that they are, they will distribute roles among themselves: some of them will say that the "earnest" arguments of Kautsky and Co. were not appreciated, not analysed, and that therefore they must be discussed in a wider gathering; others will say, "Were we not right when we denied the existence of deep-going differences, if the women adherents of the Troelstra and Guesde-Sembat parties could agree with the Left Wing German women?"

The Women's Conference ought not to have aided Scheidemann, Haase, Kautsky, Vandervelde, Guesde, Sembat, Plekhanov and others to put the working masses to sleep. On the contrary, it ought to have tried to awaken them, to declare a decisive war against opportunism. If that were so, the result would have been, not hope that the above "leaders" would "reform," but gathering of forces for a difficult and earnest struggle.

Consider the question of the violation of the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions by the opportunists and "centrists." That's just the point! Try to visualise, clearly and without diplomacy, what has actually taken place.

Foreseeing war, the International convenes and unanimously decides in case of an outbreak of war to work for *"hastening the collapse of the rule of capital"*; to work in the spirit of the *Commune, of October and December, 1905* (those are the exact words of the Basle resolution!); to work in a spirit that looks upon the firing "of the workers of one country at the workers of another country" as upon *"a crime."*

A line of action in the international, proletarian, revolutionary spirit is here indicated with perfect clarity, so clearly that it was not possible to say it more clearly within legal limits.

Then war comes—exactly such a war, exactly along such lines as were foreseen at Basle. The official parties act in a directly opposite spirit: not like internationalists but like nationalists; not in a proletarian but in a bourgeois way; not in a revolutionary direction, but in the direction of ultra-opportunism. If we say to the workers that a direct *betrayal* of the Socialist cause was committed, we by these words cast off all the evasions and the shiftiness, all the sophisms à la Kautsky and Axelrod. We clearly indicate the depth and the power of the evil, we clearly call for a struggle against it, not for conciliation with it.

What about the majority resolution? Not a word of censure for the traitors, not a single word about opportunism, only a simple *repetition* of the ideas contained in the Basle resolution! As if nothing serious has happened; as if an accidental little error has taken place which demands only the *repetition* of the old decision; as if a disagreement, not deep and not in principle, has appeared, which can be patched up!!

Such an attitude is a downright *mockery* of the decisions of the International, a mockery of the workers! As a matter of fact, the social-chauvinists wish nothing but a simple *repetition* of the old decisions, if only the practice is left unchanged. The resolution is, in reality, a tacit, hypocritically covered *amnesty* for the social-chauvinist adherents of the majorities of the present parties. We know that the number of those wishing to follow this path, to confine themselves to a few radical phrases, is legion. Their road is not ours. We have followed, and will follow, *another* road; we wish to help the labour movement, to aid in the building up of a labour party *in practice*, in the spirit of irreconcilability towards opportunism and social-chauvinism.

Part of the German women delegates seem to have been guided in their avoidance of a very clear resolution by considerations relative only to the *tempo* in which the struggle against chauvinism may develop inside of a single party, namely their own. Such considerations were obviously out of place and erroneous, since the international resolution did not and could not touch upon either the tempo or the concrete conditions of a struggle against social-chauvinism inside the *individual* countries; in this respect, the autonomy of the various parties is beyond dispute. What was necessary was to proclaim from the international tribune a decisive break with social-chauvinism in all the realms and in all the directions of Social-Democratic work. Instead, the majority resolution once more repeated the old error of the Second International, which diplomatically covered up opportunism and discrepancies between words and actions. *This* road, we repeat, we shall not follow.

Supplement to *Sotsial-Demokrat,* No. 42, June 1, 1915.

DEFEAT OF "OUR" GOVERNMENT IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR

A REVOLUTIONARY class in a reactionary war cannot but "wish the defeat of its government."

This is an axiom. It is disputed only by the conscious partisans or the helpless satellites of the social-chauvinists. To the former, for instance, belongs Semkovsky from the Organisation Committee (No. 2 of his *Izvestia*); to the latter belong Trotsky and Bukvoyed; in Germany, Kautsky. To wish Russia defeat, Trotsky says, is "an uncalled-for and unjustifiable political concession to the methodology of social-patriotism which substitutes for the revolutionary struggle against the war and the conditions that cause war, an orientation along the lines of the lesser evil, an orientation which, under given conditions, is perfectly arbitrary" (*Nashe Slovo*, No. 105).[134]

This is an example of the inflated phraseology with which Trotsky always justifies opportunism. "A revolutionary struggle against the war" is an empty and meaningless exclamation, the like of which the heroes of the Second International are past masters in making, unless it means revolutionary actions against one's own government in times of war. A little reasoning suffices to make this clear. When we say revolutionary actions in war time against one's own government, we indisputably mean not only the wish for its defeat, but practical actions leading towards such defeat. (For the "penetrating reader": This does not at all mean to "blow up bridges," organise unsuccessful military strikes, and, in general, to help the revolutionists to defeat the government.)

In using phrases to avoid the issue, Trotsky has lost his way amidst very simple surroundings. It seems to him that to wish Russia's defeat *means* to wish Germany's victory. (Bukvoyed and Semkovsky express more directly this "thought," or rather thoughtlessness, which they have in common with Trotsky.) In this Trotsky also repeats the "methodology of social-patriotism"! To help people that do not know how to think, the Berne resolution (*Sotsial-Demokrat,* No. 40) * made it clear that in *all* imperialist countries the proletariat must now wish the defeat of its government. Bukvoyed and Trotsky have preferred to evade this truth, while Semkovsky (an opportunist more useful to the working class than others, thanks to his naïvely frank repetition of bourgeois wisdom) openly blurted out the following: "This is senseless, because either Germany or Russia must win" (*Izvestia*, No. 2).

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* See p. 145.—*Ed.*

Take the example of the Commune. Germany defeated France, but Bismarck and Thiers defeated the workers! If Bukvoyed and Trotsky had done some thinking, they would have realised that *their* point of view is that of a war *of the governments and the bourgeoisie*, *i. e.*, that they pay homage to the "political methodology of social-patriotism," to use Trotsky's affected language.

Revolution in war time is civil war. *Transformation* of war between governments into civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ("defeats") of the governments; on the other hand, it is *impossible* to strive in practice towards such a transformation without at the same time working towards military defeat.

The "slogan" of defeat is so vehemently repudiated by the chauvinists (including the Organisation Committee, including the Chkheidze fraction) for the very reason that this slogan *alone* means a consistent appeal to revolutionary action against one's own government in war time. Without such action, millions of the most revolutionary phrases concerning "war against war and conditions, etc." are not worth a penny.

He who wishes earnestly to dispute the "slogan" calling for the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war, would have to prove one of three things: either (1) that the war of 1914-1915 is not reactionary; or (2) that a revolution in connection with it is impossible, or (3) that co-ordination and mutual aid of the revolutionary movement in *all* belligerent countries is impossible. The last reason is particularly important for Russia, because this is the most backward country, where an immediate Socialist revolution is impossible. This is why the Russian Social-Democrats had to be the first to advance the theory and the practice of the defeat "slogan." The tsarist government was perfectly right when it asserted that the propaganda of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction was the *only* example in the International of not only parliamentary opposition but of real revolutionary propaganda in the masses against their government, that this propaganda weakened the military power of Russia and aided its defeat. This is a fact. It is not clever to hide from it.

The opponents of the defeat slogan are simply afraid of themselves when they do not wish to realise the most obvious fact of the inseparable connection between revolutionary propaganda against the government and actions leading to its defeat.

Is it possible to have co-ordination and mutual aid between the Russian movement, which is revolutionary in the bourgeois-democratic sense of the word, and the Socialist movement in the West? This has not been doubted by any one of the Socialists who, in the last decade, expressed themselves publicly, and the movement of the Austrian proletariat after October 17, 1905, proved such a possibility by the facts of real life.

Ask any Social-Democrat who calls himself internationalist whether or not he approves of an understanding between the Social-Democrats of the various belligerent countries concerning united revolutionary actions against all belligerent governments. Many will answer, as did Kautsky, (*Neue Zeit,* October 2, 1914) that this is impossible, and therewith they will most clearly manifest their social-chauvinism. For this is, on the one hand, a notorious, flagrant untruth, a slap in the face of commonly known facts and of the Basle Manifesto; on the other hand, if it were true, *the opportunists would be quite right in many respects!*

Many will answer that they sympathise with such an understanding. To which we will say: If this sympathy is not hypocritical, it is ridiculous to think that, in the war and for the war, formal understandings are required, such as the election of representatives, arrangement of a meeting, signing of an agreement, appointment of a day and an hour! Only Semkovskys are capable of thinking that. An understanding concerning revolutionary actions within even one single country, not to speak of a number of countries, can be realised *only* by the force of the *example* of earnest revolutionary actions, by their being launched, by their *development.* It is impossible, however, to launch them without wishing the government defeat, and without contributing to such a defeat. The change from imperialist war to civil war cannot be "made," as it is impossible to "make" a revolution,—it *grows* out of a multiplicity of diverse phenomena, phases, traits, characteristics, consequences of the imperialist war. Such growth is *impossible* without a series of military reverses and defeats of those governments which received blows from *their own* oppressed classes.

To repudiate the defeat slogan means to reduce one's revolutionary actions to an empty phrase or sheer hypocrisy.

What substitute is proposed for the defeat slogan? It is the slogan of "neither victory nor defeat" (Semkovsky in the *Izvestia*, No. 2, also the entire Organisation Committee in No. 1). This, however, is nothing but another version of the *"defence of the fatherland"* slogan. This is putting the question on the level of war between governments (which, accordingly, must remain in their old place, "retain their positions") and not on the level of *struggle* of the oppressed classes against their governments! This is a justification of the chauvinism of *all* imperialist nations whose bourgeoisie is always ready to say—*and does say to the people*—that it is only fighting "against defeat." "The meaning of our vote of August 4 [was] not for the war but *against defeat*," writes the leader of the opportunists, E. David, in his book. The Organisation Committee as well as Bukvoyed and Trotsky put themselves *entirely* on the same ground with David when they defend the slogan "neither victory nor defeat"!

Upon closer examination, this slogan means "civil peace," renunciation of class struggle on the part of the oppressed classes in all belligerent countries, since class struggle is impossible without dealing blows to "one's own" bourgeoisie and "one's own" government, and to deal a blow to one's own government in war time means (Bukvoyed, take notice!) high treason, it means helping to defeat one's own country. Whoever accepts the "Neither victory nor defeat" slogan can only hypocritically be in favour of the class struggle, of "breaking civil peace"; such a one must *in practice* renounce an independent proletarian policy, because he puts before the proletariat of all the belligerent countries the *absolutely bourgeois* task of guarding their imperialist governments against defeat. The only policy of a real, not verbal, breaking of "civil peace," of accepting the class struggle, is for the proletariat *to take advantage of the difficulties of the government* and its bourgeoisie *with the aim of overthrowing them.* This, however, cannot be achieved, it cannot be striven at, without wishing the defeat of one's own government, without contributing to such a defeat.

When, before the war, the Italian Social-Democrats raised the question of a mass strike, the bourgeoisie replied, undoubtedly correctly from its standpoint, that this would be high treason, and that they would be dealt with as traitors. This is true, and it is also true that fraternisation in the trenches is high treason. Whoever writes against "high treason" as does Bukvoyed, or against the "disruption of Russia," as does Semkovsky, proceeds from a bourgeois, not from a proletarian, standpoint. A proletarian cannot help deal his government a class blow; he cannot reach out (in practice) a hand to his brother, the proletarian of the "foreign" country which is at war with us, without committing "high treason," without contributing to the defeat, the dismemberment of "his" imperialist "great" power.

Whoever is in favour of the "Neither victory nor defeat" slogan is a conscious or unconscious chauvinist, at best a petty-bourgeois pacifist, at all events an *enemy* of a proletarian policy, a partisan of the existing governments, of the existing ruling classes.

Let us look at the question from one more angle. The war cannot but call forth among the masses the most stormy feelings which destroy the usual sluggishness of mass psychology. Without adjustment to these new stormy feelings, revolutionary tactics are *impossible.*

What are the main currents of these stormy feelings? (1) Horror and despair. Hence growth of religious feelings. Once more the churches are full, the reactionaries rejoice. "Wherever there are sufferings, there is religion," says the arch-reactionary, Barrès. He is right, too. (2) Hatred for the "enemy," a feeling carefully fanned by the bourgeoisie (more than by the priests) and of economic and political value only to the bourgeoisie. (3) Hatred for one's own government and one's bourgeoisie—a feeling of all class-conscious workers who understand, on the one hand, that war is "a continuation of politics" on the part of imperialism, which they meet by "continuing" their hatred for their class enemy, on the other hand, that "war against war" is a silly phrase if it does not mean revolution against their own government. It is impossible to arouse hatred against one's own government and one's bourgeoisie without wishing their defeat, and it is impossible to be a non-hypocritical opponent of "civil" (class) "peace" without arousing hatred towards one's own government and bourgeoisie! ! !

Those who stand for the "Neither victory nor defeat" slogan are in fact on the side of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, since they "do not believe" in the possibility of international revolutionary actions of the working class against its governments, and since *they do not wish* to help the development of such actions, this, though undoubtedly difficult, being the only Socialist task worthy of a proletarian. It is the proletariat of the most backward of the belligerent great countries that, especially in the face of the shameful treason of the German and French Social-Democrats, must, through its party, undertake revolutionary tactics. Such tactics are absolutely impossible without "contributing to the defeat" of the government; they alone, however, lead to a European revolution, to the permanent peace of Socialism, to freedom for humanity from the now prevailing horrors, miseries, debasements, relapses into bestiality.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 43, July 26, 1915.

STATE OF AFFAIRS WITHIN RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

THE second issue of the *Izvestia* of the Organisation Committee and the *Nashe Dyelo* reveal this state of affairs in a most instructive and illuminating way. Both papers, each in its own way, in accordance with the place of their appearance and their political purpose, sturdily march on the road of strengthening social-chauvinism.

The *Nashe Dyelo* not only fails to inform the readers of disagreements or shades of opinion among its editors, it not only fails to raise the slightest murmur against "Potresovism"; on the contrary, in a special declaration in the name of the editors (p. 19), it expresses its solidarity with Potresovism by declaring that "internationalism" demands such "orientation in the international situation" as to decide which bourgeoisie's success in the present war is more desirable for the proletariat. This means that, in the main, *all* the editors are social-chauvinists. In addition, the editors disagree with Kautsky only in shadings of social-chauvinism, giving the epithets of "splendid," "exhaustive," "theoretically valuable," to Kautsky's pamphlet, a piece of writing entirely devoted to justification of international social-chauvinism. Whoever wishes to keep his eyes open cannot fail to see that the editors of the *Nashe Dyelo* thus, first, sanction Russian chauvinism, second, express readiness to grant "amnesty" to, and to reconcile themselves with, international social-chauvinism.

Under the head "In Russia and Abroad," the paper quotes the views of Plekhanov and Axelrod, which the editors (correctly enough) do not distinguish from each other. A special note, again *in the name of the editors* (p. 103), declares that Plekhanov's views "in many respects" coincide with the views of the *Nashe Dyelo*.

The picture could not be clearer. That "current" of the legalists which expresses itself in the *Nashe Dyelo*, and which, thanks to a thousand connections with the liberal bourgeoisie, alone out of the entire "Brussels Bloc" has been a reality in Russia in 1910-1915, has finally consolidated and completed its opportunistic development, conveniently supplementing Liquidationism with social-chauvinism. The real programme of that group, which in January, 1912, was expelled from our party, has been enriched by a new and very important item: the group aims to spread among the working class ideas which reduce themselves to the necessity of preserving and strengthening, at the price of war, if need be, the great-nation advantages and privileges of the Great-Russian landowners and bourgeoisie.

To cover up this political reality by "Left" phrases and quasi-Social-Democratic ideology, is the actual political meaning of the legal activities of Chkheidze's fraction and of the illegal activities of the Organisation Committee. In the realm of ideology—the "Neither victory nor defeat" slogan; in the realm of practice—an anti-"split" struggle which animates literally *all* the articles of the second issue of the *Izvestia,* particularly those of Martov, Yonov, and Mashinadze—this is the business-like, and, from the opportunists' standpoint, perfectly correct programme of "peace" with the *Nashe Dyelo* and Plekhanov. Read the letter of the "former revolutionist," Mr. Alexinsky, in the *Ryech,* No. 143 (June 9, 1915)[135] on "Defence of the Country" as the "task of democracy," and you will see that this gallant page of the present-day chauvinist, Plekhanov, will be fully reconciled to the "Neither victory nor defeat" slogan. In fact, this is the general slogan which unites Plekhanov, the *Nashe Dyelo,* Axelrod and Kossovsky, Martov and Semkovsky, who of course (of course!) will retain "quite natural shadings" and "disagreements in detail." All these brethren satisfy themselves ideologically by taking for their common ground the slogan "Neither victory nor defeat" (speaking parenthetically, *whose* victories or defeats? Obviously, those of the *present governments,* of the present ruling classes!). In the realm of practical politics, they satisfy themselves with the "unity" slogan, *i. e.,* unity with the *Nashe Dyelo,* which means that, in Russia, the *Nashe Dyelo* aided by Chkheidze's fraction will, as heretofore, conduct earnest politics and do earnest (in a bourgeois sense) work among the masses, while *abroad* and underground, the Organisation Committee and Co. will allow themselves the luxury of "Left" reservations, of uttering near-revolutionary phrases, and so on and so forth. Let us cherish no illusions: the Brussels Bloc which broke down at once, thus proving that it contained nothing but hypocrisy, is, by virtue of this, highly suitable to cloak a politically rotten situation. In July, 1914, it served to cloak the *Nasha Zarya* [*Our Dawn*] and the *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta* [*Northern Workers' Gazette*] by means of near-Left resolutions committing one to nothing. In July, 1915, there is no "friends' meeting" and no "protocol" as yet, but there is already an agreement in principle of the main "actors" jointly to cover up the social-chauvinism of the paper *Nashe Dyelo*, of Plekhanov and Axelrod, by means of the same near-Left phrases. A year has passed, a great and grave year in the history of Europe. It has become apparent that the abscesses of national-liberal labour politics have *choked* the majority of the Social-Democratic parties of Europe, that these abscesses have also ripened within Liquidationism—but the "friends," like the musicians in Krylov's "Quartet," only changed their places to strike up the song in a false-tone chorus: Unity, unity—(with the *Nashe Dyelo*)!

The example of the *Nashe Slovo* which appears in Paris is particularly instructive for the sincere adherents of "unity." No. 2 of the Organisation Committee's *Izvestia* dealt a deadly blow to the *Nashe Slovo* and now its death (political or physical does not very much matter) is only a question of time. No. 2 of the Organisation Committee's *Izvestia* "killed" the *Nashe Slovo* by the simple declaration that Martov (who found himself a member of the Organisation Committee's secretariat, evidently having been co-opted "unanimously" by Semkovsky and Axelrod, probably for his consent to repeat no more unguarded phrases about the "death" of the *Vorwärts*) and "at least one-half of the contributors of the *Nashe Slovo* organisationally linked up with the Organisation Committee" *admitted their error*, admitted they had "naively" (Martov in the role of an *ingénue*, a sight worth seeing!) considered the *Nashe Slovo* as the "common organ of the Russian internationalists," whereas in reality the *Nashe Slovo* proved to be both "factional" and "pursuing splitting" (Semkovsky adds for himself "Anarcho-syndicalist") "tendencies" and also "justifying itself before Lenin's *Sotsial-Demokrat*."

There appeared before the public three elements of the *Nashe Slovo* for seven or eight months unsuccessfully trying to unite: (1) two Left members of the editorial staff (*Nashe Slovo*, No. 107) who sincerely sympathise with internationalism and gravitate towards the *Sotsial-Demokrat* (see resolution of greeting addressed to them by the Paris Section of our party in the *Nashe Slovo*, No. 122);[136] (2) Martov and the Organisation Committee members ("at least one-half"); (3) Trotsky, who, as always, entirely disagrees with the social-chauvinists in principle, but agrees with them in everything in practice (among other things, thanks to the "felicitous mediation" —is that what they call it in diplomatic language?—of Chkheidze's fraction).

A question arises in the minds of sincere friends of unity: Why did the *Nashe Slovo* collapse and split? It is customary to explain splits by the man-hating "split policy" of the horrible "Leninists" (see Semkovsky in the *Izvestia*, No. 2, Axelrod in the *Nashe Slovo*, etc., etc.). These horrible people, however, did not at all participate in the *Nashe Slovo* and for this simple reason they *could not* split away or leave it.

What, then, is the reason? Is it an accident? Or is it because unity of Social-Democratic workers with the conductors of bourgeois influence (in reality agents of liberal and chauvinist bourgeoisie) who are centred in the *Nashe Dyelo* is impossible and harmful?

Let the friends of "unity" ponder over this.

Among European Social-Democracy, Kautsky and Haase, jointly with Bernstein himself,[137] came out, in somewhat different surroundings and form, in favor of "unity." Sensing that the masses are becoming more radical, those "authorities" proposed peace to the Left Social-Democrats under the tacit condition of peace with the Südekums. Verbally to renounce the "politics of August Fourth," to fill the gap between the national-liberal and the Social-Democratic labour policies by some non-committal (in many respects not unfavourable, even for Hindenburg and Joffre) "peace" phrases (the peace slogan being very suitable for this), by denouncing annexations platonically, etc.—such is, approximately, Kautsky's and Bernstein's programme, which the French social-chauvinists would not be loth to join, as may be seen from the tone of some statements in *L'Humanité*.[138] The Englishmen in the Independent Labour Party will, of course, heartily support such amnesty for social-chauvinism if it is covered up by a number of bows towards the left. Evidently the Organisation-Committee members and Trotsky are predestined by God himself to hold on to the coat-tails of Kautsky and Bernstein at the present juncture.

We consider this left turn on the part of the leader of the opportunists and the leader of hypocritical chauvinists from the "radical" camp to be a comedy tending to *save* what is rotten in Social-Democracy by means of a bow to the left, to strengthen in practice the national-liberal labour politics at the price of petty verbal concessions to the "Lefts."

The objective situation in Europe is such that there grows among the masses a disappointment, a dissatisfaction, a protest, a rebellion, a revolutionary mood which, at a certain stage of its development, is apt to turn into action with incredible speed. In practice the question now stands thus and only thus: Either aid the growth and development of revolutionary actions against one's own bourgeoisie and one's own government, or hamper, calm, extinguish, the revolutionary sentiment. To reach the latter aim the liberal bourgeois and the opportunists will (and from the standpoint of *their* interests *must*) agree to any concessions to the Left, to any number of promises concerning disarmament, peace, repudiation of annexations, reforms of every kind, anything you wish, only to avert a rupture between the masses and their opportunist leaders and a resumption of more and more serious revolutionary actions.

Do not trust any high-sounding programmes, we say to the masses; rely on your own mass revolutionary actions against your governments and your bourgeoisie, try to develop such actions; there is no escape from barbarism, there is no possibility for progress in Europe outside of civil war for Socialism.

P. S. This article was already set up when we received a collection of articles by Mr. Plekhanov, the "former revolutionary," Mr. Alexinsky and Co., entitled *War*.[139] Here is a collection of sophisms and lies by social-chauvinists who make the plundering and reactionary wars of tsarism appear "just," "defensive" ones, etc.! We call this shameful bouquet of servility to tsarism to the attention of all those who honestly wish to understand the causes of the collapse of the Second International. Among other things, it is interesting to note that these frank social-chauvinists are *entirely* satisfied both with Chkheidze and his whole fraction. The Organisation Committee, Trotsky, Plekhanov, Alexinsky and Co. are naturally also satisfied with that fraction because Chkheidze's fraction for years has proven its ability to shield the opportunists and to serve them.

Messrs. Plekhanov and Alexinsky shamelessly lie about the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction exiled to Siberia. The time is probably not far off when it will be possible to quote documents in refutation of the lies.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 43, July 26, 1915.

TWO LETTERS TO A. M. KOLLONTAI

I

Dear Comrade:

The question of the conference of the "Left" is making progress. We have had already the first *Vorkonferenz* [preliminary conference.—*Ed.*],[140] and we are about to have the second, the decisive one.[141] It is highly important to attract the Left Swedes (*Höglund*) and the Norwegians.

Be good enough to drop me a line and tell me: (1) Are we in harmony with you (or you with the Central Committee)? If not, wherein do we disagree? (2) Will you undertake to attract the Left Scandinavians?

Ad (1) Our position is known to you from the *Sotsial-Demokrat;* as far as the Russian affairs are concerned, we shall *not* be for unity with Chkheidze's fraction (as desired both by Trotsky, by the Organisation Committee, and by Plekhanov and Co.; see the *War*), for this would mean to cover up and defend the *Nashe Dyelo.* As far as the international affairs are concerned, we shall *not* be for drawing close to Haase, Bernstein, and Kautsky (for in *reality* they wish unity with the Südekums; they wish to cover them up, to confine themselves to Left phrases without doing anything to change the old, rotten party). We cannot stand for the *slogan* of peace, for we consider it to be hopelessly confused, pacifist, philistine, aiding the governments (who wish to hold out one hand for peace in order to extricate themselves) and hampering the revolutionary struggle.

In our opinion the Left must come forth with a general declaration of *ideas* which would: (1) absolutely condemn the social-chauvinists and opportunists; (2) offer a programme of revolutionary actions (whether to say civil war or revolutionary mass action is not so important after all); (3) repudiate the "defence of the fatherland" slogan, etc. A declaration of ideas on the part of the Left in the name of several countries would be of *enormous* significance (of course, not in the sense of Zetkin's piece of vulgarity made by her to pass at the Women's Conference in Berne. Zetkin *evaded* the question of condemning social-chauvinism [!!] perhaps out of a desire for "peace" with the Südekums and Kautsky [??].

If you are in disagreement with such tactics, let us know in a few words.

If you are in agreement, will you undertake to translate: (1) the Manifesto of the Central Committee (No. 33, *Sotsial-Demokrat*) and (2) the Berne resolutions (No. 44, *Sotsial-Demokrat*) into Norwegian and Swedish, and to communicate with *Höglund*, ascertaining whether they agree to participate in the preparation of a *general* declaration (or resolution) on such and such a basis (of course, we won't part ways on account of details). We must *hurry* with this.

In expectation of your answer, with all kinds of greetings,

Yours,

LENIN.

II

DEAR A. M.:

We were very glad about the Norwegians' declaration, and the trouble you took with the Swedes. A common international appearance of the Left Marxists would be infernally important! (A declaration of principles is the main thing, and for the time being the only possible thing.)

Roland-Holst, as well as Rakovsky (have you seen his French pamphlet?),[142] and Trotsky, too, are in my judgment *all* most harmful "Kautskyists," inasmuch as they are all, in one form or another, for unity with the opportunists, in one form or another they are embellishing opportunism, they all (each in his way) advance eclecticism instead of revolutionary Marxism.

Your criticism of the draft declaration does not seem to me (if I am not mistaken) to reveal serious disagreements with us. To fail to distinguish between types of war I consider theoretically erroneous and practically harmful. We cannot be against national wars for liberation. You have quoted the example of Serbia. But if the Serbs *alone* were against Austria, would we not be in favour of the Serbs?

The crux of the matter is that at present the struggle *among* great powers is carried on for the redivision of colonies and the subjugation of small powers.

The war of India, Persia, China, etc., against England and

Russia? Would we not be in favour of India against England, etc.? To call *this* "civil war" is not precise enough; it is an obviously forced assumption. It is exceedingly harmful to stretch the civil war concept indefinitely, since that *beclouds* the core of the matter—the struggle of the wage-workers against the capitalists *of the same state.*

It seems that the Scandinavians are overwhelmed by philistine (and provincial, *kleinstädtisch*) pacifism when they reject "war" in general. This is not Marxian. This has to be fought against, as also their rejection of a militia.

Once more: greetings and congratulations upon the Norwegians' declaration.

Yours,

LENIN.

Written in the summer of 1915.
First published in the *Lenin Collection*, II, 1924.

APPEAL ON THE WAR

COMRADE WORKERS:

For over a year the European War has been going on. According to all evidence, it will be continued for a long while, for if Germany is best prepared and at present the strongest, the Quadruple Entente (Russia, England, France, and Italy) on the other hand has more men and more money, and besides, it freely receives war materials from the richest country in the world, the United States of America.

What is this war being fought for? Why these unheard-of miseries it brings humanity? The government and the bourgeoisie of every belligerent country are squandering millions of rubles on books and papers blaming the opponent, arousing in the people a furious hatred for the enemy, stopping before no lie whatever in order to picture themselves as the country that was unjustly attacked and is now "defending" itself. In reality, this is a war between two groups of predatory great powers, and it is fought for the division of colonies, for the enslavement of other nations, for advantages and privileges in the world market. This is a most reactionary war, a war of modern slave-holders fought for the purpose of retaining and strengthening capitalist slavery. England and France are lying when they assert that they fight the war for the freedom of Belgium. In reality, they have long been preparing the war, and they wage it for the purpose of robbing Germany, taking away her colonies; they have made a treaty with Italy and Russia stipulating the pillage and division of Turkey and Austria. The tsarist monarchy in Russia is waging a predatory war in which it strives to seize Galicia, to take away territories from Turkey, to enslave Persia, Mongolia, etc. Germany wages a war for the purpose of robbing English, Belgian, and French colonies. Whether Germany wins or Russia, or whether there is a "draw," in any case the war will bring humanity new oppression for hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the colonies, in Persia, Turkey, China, new enslavement of nations, new chains for the working class of all countries.

What are the tasks of the working class in relation to this war?

The answer to this question was given in a resolution unanimously adopted by the Socialists of the whole world at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912. This resolution was adopted in anticipation of a war of the very same kind as commenced in 1914. This resolution says that the war is reactionary, that it is being prepared in the interests of "capitalist profits," that the workers consider it "a crime to fire at each other," that the war would lead to "a proletarian revolution," that an example for the workers' tactics is the Paris Commune of 1871, and October-December, 1905, in Russia, *i. e.*, a revolution.*

All class-conscious workers of Russia are on the side of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction in the Imperial Duma, whose members (Petrovsky, Badayev, Muranov, Samoilov, and Shagov) were banished by tsarism to Siberia for revolutionary propaganda against the war and against the government. Only in such revolutionary propaganda, and in revolutionary activities leading to the revolt of the masses, lies the salvation of humanity from the horrors of the present and the future wars. Only a revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois governments, in the first place of the most reactionary, savage, and barbarous tsarist government, opens the road to Socialism and to peace among peoples.

When the conscious or unconscious servants of the bourgeoisie wish to persuade the people that a revolutionary overthrow of the tsarist monarchy might lead only to victories and to a strengthening of the German reactionary monarchy and the German bourgeoisie, they are telling a lie. Although the leaders of the German Socialists, like many of the most prominent Socialists in Russia, have gone over to the side of "their" bourgeoisie, and are helping to deceive the people with fables of a war of "defence," there grows among the working masses of Germany an ever stronger protest and a rebellion against their government. The Socialists of Germany who have not gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie, have declared in the press that they considered the tactics of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction "heroic." In Germany, appeals against the war and against the government are being published illegally. Dozens and hundreds of the best Socialists in Germany, including the well-known representative of the women's labour movement, Clara Zetkin, have been thrown into prison by the German government for propaganda in a revolutionary spirit. In all the belligerent countries, without exception, there ripens the revolt of the working masses, and the example of the revolutionary activities of the Social-Democrats of Russia, and even more so the success of a revolution in Russia, will not fail to advance the great cause of Socialism, of the victory of the proletariat over the blood-soaked bourgeois exploiters.

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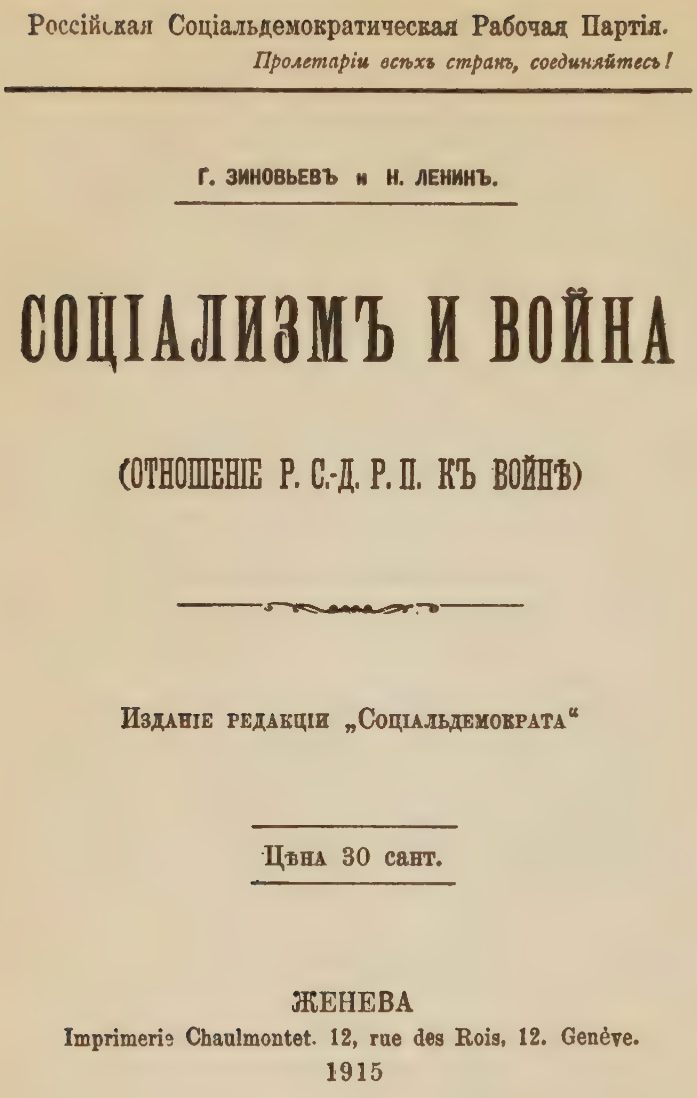
* See Appendices: Documents, II.—*Ed.*

The war fills the pockets of the capitalists to whom an ocean of gold is flowing from the treasuries of the great powers. The war is provoking an unreasoning bitterness against the enemy, and the bourgeoisie does its best to direct the dissatisfaction of the people into those channels, to divert their attention from the *main enemy*, the government and the ruling classes of *their own* country. The war, however, carrying with it untold miseries and horrors for the toiling masses, enlightens and steels the best representatives of the working class. If perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for the Socialist revolution and not for the interests of the capitalists, landowners, and Tsars—this is what every class-conscious worker sees and feels. Revolutionary Social-Democratic work may be difficult at present, but it is possible. It progresses in the whole world, and in this alone lies salvation.

Down with tsarist monarchy which drew Russia into a criminal war, and which oppresses peoples! Long live the world brotherhood of the workers, and an international revolution of the proletariat!

Written in August, 1915.
First published in the *Pravda,* No. 18 (3850), January 21, 1928.



Россійская Соціальдемократическая Рабочая Партія.
Пролетаріи всѣхъ странъ, соединяйтесь!

Г. ЗИНОВЬЕВЪ и Н. ЛЕНИНЪ.

СОЦІАЛИЗМЪ И ВОЙНА

(ОТНОШЕНІЕ Р. С.-Д. Р. П. КЪ ВОЙНѢ)

Изданіе редакціи „Соціальдемократа“

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1915

Title Page of First Russian Edition of the Pamphlet, *Socialism and War*, by G. Zinoviev and N. Lenin, Geneva, 1915. (See opposite page.)

SOCIALISM AND WAR

ATTITUDE OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY TOWARDS THE WAR

Written in August, 1915.
First published as a pamphlet in the fall of 1915
by the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Geneva.

FOREWORD TO FIRST FOREIGN EDITION

THE war has been going on for a year. Our party made clear its attitude towards the war at its very beginning in the Manifesto of the Central Committee written in September, 1914, and (after conveying it to the Central Committee members and the responsible representatives of our party in Russia, and obtaining their approval) published it, November 1, 1914, in No. 33 of the Central Organ of our party, the *Sotsial-Demokrat.** Later, in No. 40 (March 29, 1915) there were published the resolutions of the Berne Conference ** which express more precisely our principles and our tactics.

There is at present evident in Russia a growing revolutionary sentiment among the masses. In other countries there are also signs of a similar phenomenon, notwithstanding the smothering of the revolutionary tendencies of the proletariat by a majority of the official Social-Democratic parties, which have taken the side of their governments and their bourgeoisie. This state of affairs makes it particularly urgent to publish a pamphlet which summarises Social-Democratic tactics in relation to the war. In reprinting in full the above-mentioned party documents, we have supplied them with brief explanations, attempting to take stock of the main arguments expressed in literature and in party gatherings for bourgeois and proletarian tactics.

G. ZINOVIEV.
N. LENIN.

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* See p. 76.—*Ed.*
** See p. 145.—*Ed.*

FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION

The present pamphlet was written in the summer of 1915 on the very eve of the Zimmerwald Conference. It also appeared in German and French, and was reprinted in full in the Norwegian language in the organ of the Norwegian Social-Democratic Youth. The German edition of the pamphlet was illegally transported into Germany, to Berlin, Leipzig, Bremen, and other cities, where it was distributed by the adherents of the Zimmerwald Left and Karl Liebknecht's group. The French edition was illegally printed in Paris and distributed there by the French Zimmerwaldists. The Russian edition reached Russia in a very limited number of copies, and was hand-copied by Moscow workers.

We now reprint the pamphlet in full, as a document. The reader must remember that the pamphlet was written in August, 1915. It is particularly necessary to remember this in connection with the passages dealing with Russia. Russia then was still tsarist, Romanov Russia.

First issued in Russia in 1918 in a pamphlet entitled *Socialism and War*, by G. Zinoviev and N. Lenin.

Published by the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Soldiers' Deputies.

SOCIALISM AND WAR

CHAPTER I

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM AND THE WAR OF 1914-1915

ATTITUDE OF SOCIALISTS TOWARDS WAR

THE Socialists have always condemned wars between peoples as barbarous and bestial. Our attitude towards war, however, differs in principle from that of the bourgeois pacifists and Anarchists. We differ from the first in that we understand the inseparable connection between wars on the one hand and class struggles inside of a country on the other, we understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating Socialism, and in that we fully recognise the justice, the progressivism and the necessity of civil wars, *i. e.*, wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor, of slaves against the slave-holders, of serfs against the landowners, of wage-workers against the bourgeoisie. We Marxists differ both from pacifists and Anarchists in that we recognise the necessity of an historical study of each war individually, from the point of view of Marx's dialectical materialism. There have been many wars in history which, notwithstanding all the horrors, cruelties, miseries and tortures, inevitably connected with every war, had a progressive character, *i. e.*, they served the development of mankind, aiding in the destruction of extremely pernicious and reactionary institutions (as, for instance, absolutism or serfdom), or helping to remove the most barbarous despotisms in Europe (that of Turkey and Russia). It is therefore necessary to examine the historic characteristics of the present war taken by itself.

TYPES OF WAR IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES

A new epoch in the history of mankind was opened by the great French Revolution. From that time down to the Paris Commune, *i. e.*, from 1789 to 1871, some of the wars had a bourgeois progressive character, being waged for national liberation. In other words, the main contents and the historic significance of those wars consisted in overthrowing absolutism and feudalism, at least in undermining those institutions, or in casting off the yoke of foreign nations. Therefore these wars can be considered progressive. When such wars were waged, all honest revolutionary democrats as well as Socialists always sympathised with that side (*i. e.*, with that bourgeoisie) which helped to overthrow or at least to undermine the most dangerous foundations of feudalism and absolutism, or to combat the oppression of foreign peoples. For instance, the fundamental historic significance of the revolutionary wars of France, notwithstanding the tendency to plunder and conquer foreign lands on the part of the French, consists in the fact that they shook and destroyed feudalism and absolutism in the whole of old Europe hitherto based on serf labour. In the Franco-Prussian War, Germany certainly robbed France; this, however, does not change the fundamental historic significance of that war as having freed tens of millions of the German people from feudal decentralisation and from the oppression of two despots, the Tsar and Napoleon III.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE WAR

The period between 1789 and 1871 left deep traces and revolutionary reminiscences. Before the overthrow of feudalism, absolutism, and foreign oppression, there could be no thought of developing the proletarian struggle for Socialism. When, in speaking of the wars of *such* periods, the Socialists always recognised the justice of a "defensive" war, they had in view the above aims, namely, a revolution against medievalism and serf labour. Under a "defensive" war the Socialists always understood a "just" war in this particular sense. (Wilhelm Liebknecht once expressed himself in this very way.)[144] Only in this sense did the Socialists recognise, and do recognise at present, the legitimacy, progressivism, and justice of "defending the fatherland" or of a "defensive" war. For instance, if Morocco were to declare war against France to-morrow, or India against England, or Persia or China against Russia, etc., those wars would be "just," "defensive" wars, no matter which one was the first to attack. Every Socialist would then wish the victory of the oppressed, dependent, non-sovereign states against the oppressing, slave-holding, pillaging "great" nations.

But imagine that a slave-holder possessing 100 slaves wages war against a slave-holder possessing 200 slaves for a more "equitable" re-distribution of slaves. It is evident that to apply to such a case the term "defensive" war or "defence of the fatherland," would be an historical lie; in practice it would mean that the crafty slave-holders were plainly deceiving the unenlightened masses, the lower strata of the city population. It is in this very fashion that the present-day imperialist bourgeoisie, when war is waged among the slave-holders for the strengthening and consolidation of slavery, deceive the peoples by means of the "national" ideology and the idea of defence of the fatherland.

THE PRESENT WAR IS AN IMPERIALIST WAR

Nearly every one admits the present war to be an imperialist war. In most cases, however, this term is either distorted, or applied to one side only, or a loophole is left for the assertion that the war is a bourgeois-progressive means for national liberation. Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, one that has been reached only in the twentieth century. Capitalism began to feel cramped within the old national states, without the formation of which it could not overthrow feudalism. Capitalism has brought about such economic concentration that entire branches of industry are in the hands of syndicates, trusts, or corporations of billionaires; almost the entire globe has been parceled out among the "giants of capital," either in the form of colonies, or through the entangling of foreign countries by thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by tendencies towards monopoly, towards seizure of lands for the investment of capital, for the export of raw materials, etc. Capitalism, formerly a liberator of nations, has now, in its imperialist stage, become the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, it has become a reactionary force. It has developed the productive forces to such an extent that humanity must either pass over to Socialism, or for years, nay, decades, witness armed conflicts of the "great" nations for an artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and all sorts of national oppression.

Division of the World among the “Great” Slave-holding Nations

“Great Powers”	Colonies				Mother Countries		Total	
	1876		1914		1914			
	Sq. Km.	Pop.	Sq. Km.	Pop.	Sq. Km.	Pop.	Sq. Km.	Pop.
			(in millions)					
England	22.5	251.9	33.5	393.5	0.3	46.5	33.8	440.0
Russia	17.0	15.9	17.4	33.2	5.4	136.2	22.8	169.4
France	0.9	6.0	10.6	55.5	0.5	39.9	11.1	95.1
Germany	—	—	2.9	12.3	0.5	64.9	3.4	77.2
Japan	—	—	0.3	19.2	0.4	53.0	0.7	72.2
U. S. A.	—	—	0.3	9.7	9.4	97.0	9.7	106.7
Totals:								
Six “Great” Powers	40.4	273.8	65.0	523.4	19.5	437.2	81.5	960.6
Colonies belonging to Non-Great Powers (Belgium, Holland, etc.)							9.9	45.3
Three “Semi-Colonial” Countries (Turkey, China and Persia)							14.5	361.2
Grand Total							105.9	1,367.1
All other States and Countries							28.0	289.9
The whole globe (except the Polar Regions)							133.9	1,657.0

WAR AMONG THE GREATEST SLAVE-HOLDERS FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND STRENGTHENING OF SLAVERY

To make the meaning of imperialism clear, we will quote exact figures showing the division of the world among the so-called "great" nations, (*i. e.,* nations successful in the great robbery). [See p. 222.—*Ed.*]

It is evident that the peoples who, between 1789 and 1871, were usually the foremost fighters for freedom, have become, after 1876, under highly-developed and "over-ripe" capitalism, the oppressors and subjugators of the majority of the populations and nations of the entire globe. Between 1876 and 1914, the six "great" nations grabbed 25,000,000 square kilometres, *i. e.,* a territory two and a half times the size of Europe. The six nations hold enslaved *more than a half-billion* (523,000,000) of colonial peoples. For every four inhabitants of the "great" nations, there are five inhabitants in "their" colonies. Everybody knows that the colonies were conquered by fire and sword, that the colonial populations are treated in a barbarous fashion, that they are exploited in a thousand ways, such as exportation of capital, concessions, etc., deceptions in selling commodities, submission to the authorities of the "ruling" nation, and so on, and so forth. The Anglo-French bourgeoisie is deceiving the people when it says that it wages war for the freedom of peoples, including Belgium; in reality, it wages war for the sake of holding on to the colonies which it has stolen on a large scale. The German imperialists would free Belgium, etc., forthwith, were the English and the French willing to share with them the colonies on the basis of "justice." It is a peculiarity of the present situation that the fate of the colonies is being decided by war on the continent. From the standpoint of bourgeois justice and national freedom, which means the right of nations to exist, Germany could unquestionably have a just claim against England and France, because it has been "wronged" as far as its share of colonies is concerned, because its enemies are oppressing more nations than Germany, and because under its ally, Austria, the oppressed Slavs are enjoying decidedly more freedom than in tsarist Russia, this veritable "prison of the peoples." Germany itself, however, is waging war, not for the liberation, but for the oppression of nations. It is not the business of Socialists to help the younger and stronger robber (Germany) to rob the older and fatter bandits, but the Socialists must utilise the struggle between the bandits to overthrow all of them. For this reason the Socialists must first of all tell the people the truth, namely, that this war is in three senses a war of slave-holders for the strengthening of the worst kind of slavery. It is a war, first, for the strengthening of colonial slavery by means of a more "equitable" division of the colonies and more "team work" in their exploitation; it is, secondly, a war for the strengthening of the oppression of minority nationalities inside the "great" nations, since Austria and Russia (Russia much more and in a much worse manner than Austria) are based on such oppression which is strengthened by the war; third, it is a war for the strengthening and prolongation of wage slavery, the proletariat being divided and subdued while the capitalists are gaining through war profits, through fanning national prejudices, and deepening the reaction which has raised its head in all countries, even in the freest and republican countries.

"WAR IS POLITICS CONTINUED BY OTHER (*i. e.*, FORCIBLE) MEANS"[145]

This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding of the meaning of every war. It is from this very standpoint that Marx and Engels regarded wars.

Apply this idea to the present war. You will find that for decades, for almost half a century, the governments and the ruling classes of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia, conducted a policy of colonial robbery, of suppressing labour movements, of oppressing foreign nations. Such a policy, and no other one, is being pursued also in the present war. Notably in Austria and in Russia the policy of both peace and war times consists in the enslavement of nations, not in their liberation. On the contrary, in China, Persia, India and other dependent nations we note in the last decade a policy of national awakening, tens and hundreds of millions of people striving to liberate themselves from under the yoke of the reactionary "great" nations. War growing out of this historic basis, even at the present time, can be of a bourgeois progressive nature, a war for national liberation.

One glance at the present war, conceived as a continuation of the policy of the "great" nations and their fundamental classes, shows that the opinion which justifies "defence of the fatherland" in the present war is false, hypocritical and in glaring contradiction to historic facts.

EXAMPLE OF BELGIUM

The social-chauvinists of the Triple (now Quadruple) Entente (in Russia, Plekhanov and Co.) love to refer to the example of Belgium. This example speaks against them. The German imperialists shamelessly violated Belgian neutrality; this has always and everywhere been the practice of warring nations which, in the case of necessity, trample upon *all* treaties and obligations. Suppose all nations interested in maintaining international treaties declared war against Germany, demanding the liberation and indemnification of Belgium. In this case the sympathy of the Socialists would naturally be on the side of Germany's enemies. The truth, however, is that the war is being waged by the "Triple" (and Quadruple) Entente *not* for the sake of Belgium. This is well known, and only the hypocrites conceal it. England is robbing German colonies and Turkey; Russia is robbing Galicia and Turkey; France is striving to obtain Alsace-Lorraine and even the left bank of the Rhine; a treaty providing the sharing of spoils (in Albania and Asia Minor) has been concluded with Italy; with Bulgaria and Rumania there is haggling as to the division of the spoils. In the present war, conducted by the present governments, it is impossible to help Belgium without helping to throttle Austria or Turkey, etc. What meaning, then, has the "defence of the fatherland"? This is the peculiar characteristic of the imperialist war, a war between reactionary bourgeois governments that have historically outlived themselves, conducted for the sake of oppressing other nations. Whoever justifies participation in this war, perpetuates imperialist oppression of nations. Whoever seeks to use the present difficulties of the governments in order to fight for a social revolution, is fighting for the real freedom of really all nations, a freedom that can be realised only under Socialism.

WHAT IS RUSSIA FIGHTING FOR?

In Russia, modern capitalist imperialism has clearly manifested itself in the policy of tsarism relative to Persia, Manchuria and Mongolia; in general, however, the prevailing type of Russian imperialism is military and feudal. Nowhere in the world is there such an oppression of the majority of the country's population as there is in Russia: the Great-Russians form only 43 per cent of the population, *i. e.*, less than half; the rest have no rights as belonging to other nationalities. Out of 170,000,000 of the population of Russia, *about 100,000,000* are oppressed and without rights. The tsarist government wages war for the seizure of Galicia and the final throttling of the freedom of the Ukrainians, for the seizure of Armenia, Constantinople, etc. Tsarism sees in this war a means to distract the attention from the growing discontent within the country and to suppress the growing revolutionary movement. For every two Great-Russians in present-day Russia, there are between two and three "aliens" without rights. In waging this war tsarism strives to increase the number of nations oppressed by Russia, to perpetuate their oppression and subsequently to undermine the struggle for freedom of the Great-Russians themselves. The opportunity of suppressing and robbing foreign peoples spells economic stagnation, since it often substitutes semi-feudal exploitation of the "aliens" as a source of income for the devolopment of productive forces. It is for this reason that, as far as Russia is concerned, the war is doubly reactionary and hostile to national liberation.

WHAT IS SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM?

Social-chauvinism is adherence to the idea of "defending the fatherland" in the present war. From this idea follows repudiation of the class struggle in war time, voting for military appropriations, etc. In practice the social-chauvinists conduct an anti-proletarian bourgeois policy, because in practice they insist not on the "defence of the fatherland" in the sense of fighting against the oppression of a foreign nation, but upon the "right" of one or the other of the "great" nations to rob the colonies and oppress other peoples. The social-chauvinists follow the bourgeoisie in deceiving the people by saying that the war is conducted for the defence of the freedom and the existence of the nations, thus they put themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. To the social-chauvinists belong those who justify and idealise the governments and the bourgeoisie of *one* of the belligerent groups of nations, as well as those who, like Kautsky, recognise the equal right of the Socialists of *all* belligerent nations to "defend the fatherland." Social-chauvinism, being in practice a defence of the privileges, prerogatives, robberies and violence of "one's own" (or any other) imperialist bourgeoisie, is a total betrayal of all Socialist convictions and a violation of the decisions of the International Socialist Congress in Basle.

THE BASLE MANIFESTO

The war manifesto unanimously adopted in 1912 in Basle has in view the kind of war between England and Germany with their present allies which actually broke out in 1914. The manifesto declares unequivocally that no people's interests of whatever nature can justify such a war, it being conducted "for the profits of capitalists" and "the ambitions of dynasties" as an outgrowth of the imperialist predatory policy of the great nations. The manifesto plainly states that the war is dangerous "for the governments" (all governments without exception); it notes their fear "of a proletarian revolution"; it refers with full clarity to the example of the Commune of 1871 and of October-December, 1905, *i. e., to the example of revolution and civil war.* The Basle Manifesto thus establishes for this present war the tactics of workers' revolutionary struggle on an international scale against their governments, the tactics of proletarian revolution. The Basle Manifesto repeats the words of the Stuttgart resolution to the effect that in case of war the Socialists must take advantage of the "economic and political crisis" created by it to "hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule," *i. e.,* to take advantage of the difficulties of the governments and of mass indignation created by the war to advance the Socialist revolution.*

The policy of the social-chauvinists, their justification of the war from the bourgeois standpoint of national liberty, their acceptance of the "defence of the fatherland," their voting for war appropriations, their participation in the cabinets, etc., etc., is a direct betrayal of Socialism. As we shall see below, it can be explained only by the triumph of opportunism and of national-liberal labour policy inside of the majority of the European parties.

FALSE REFERENCES TO MARX AND ENGELS

The Russian social-chauvinists (headed by Plekhanov) refer to Marx's tactics in the war of 1870. The German chauvinists (of the

* See Appendices: Documents, I and II.—*Ed.*

type of Lensch, David and Co.) refer to Engels, who in 1891 declared that it would be the duty of the German Socialists to defend their fatherland in case of a war against Russia and France combined. Finally, the social-chauvinists of the Kautsky type, wishing to justify and sanction international chauvinism, quote both Marx and Engels who, while denouncing wars, always sided with one or the other of the belligerent governments, once the war had actually broken out, as was the case in 1854-1855, 1870-1871 and 1876-1877.

All these references are an abominable distortion of Marx's and Engels' views, made in favour of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, just as the writings of the Anarchists, Guillaume and Co., distort the views of Marx and Engels for the justification of Anarchism. The war of 1870-1871 was historically progressive on Germany's side up to the defeat of Napoleon III, because both he and the Tsar had long oppressed Germany, keeping it in a state of feudal decentralisation. As soon as the war turned into a plunder of France (annexation of Alsace and Lorraine), Marx and Engels decisively condemned the Germans. Even at the beginning of the war of 1870–1871 Marx and Engels approved of Bebel's and Liebknecht's refusal to vote for military appropriations; they advised the Social-Democrats not to merge with the bourgeoisie, but to defend the independent class-interests of the proletariat. To apply the characterisation of the Franco-Prussian War, which was of a bourgeois progressive nature and fought for national liberty, to the present imperialist war, is to mock at history. The same is even more true about the war of 1854-1855 and all other wars of the nineteenth century, *i. e.*, a time *when there was no modern imperialism, no ripe objective conditions for Socialism, no mass Socialist parties in all the belligerent countries*, *i. e.*, when there were none of those conditions from which the Basle Manifesto deduced the tactics of a "proletarian revolution" in the case of a war's arising among the great nations.

Whoever refers at present to Marx's attitude towards the wars of a period when the bourgeoisie was *progressive*, forgetting Marx's words that "the workers have no fatherland," words which refer to a *period when the bourgeoisie is reactionary and has outlived itself*, to the period of Socialist revolutions, is shamelessly distorting Marx and substituting a bourgeois for a Socialist standpoint.

COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The Socialists of the whole world solemnly declared in 1912, in Basle, that they considered the coming European war a "criminal" and reactionary undertaking of *all* the governments, an undertaking which must hasten the breakdown of capitalism by inevitably generating a revolution against it. The war came, the crisis was there. Instead of revolutionary tactics, the majority of the Social-Democratic parties followed reactionary tactics, siding with their governments and their respective bourgeoisies. This betrayal of Socialism means the collapse of the Second (1889-1914) International. We must make clear to ourselves the causes of that collapse, the reasons for the birth and growth of social-chauvinism.

SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM IS OPPORTUNISM BROUGHT TO COMPLETION

During the entire period of the Second International, a struggle was going on everywhere inside of the Social-Democratic parties between the revolutionary and the opportunist wings. In a series of countries there was a split along this line (England, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria). There was no doubt in the mind of any Marxist that opportunism expressed a bourgeois policy inside of the labour movement, that it expressed the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of the alliance of an insignificant section of bourgeois-like workers with "their own" bourgeoisie against the interests of the mass of proletarians, the mass of the oppressed.

The objective conditions at the end of the nineteenth century were such that they strengthened opportunism, turning the use of legal bourgeois opportunities into servile worship of legalism, creating a thin layer of bureaucracy and aristocracy in the working class, attracting to the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties many petty-bourgeois "fellow travellers."

The war hastened this development; it turned opportunism into social-chauvinism; it changed the alliance of the opportunists with the bourgeoisie from a secret to an open one. At the same time, the military authorities everywhere introduced martial law and muzzled the working mass, whose old leaders, almost in a body, went over to the bourgeoisie.

The economic basis of opportunism and social-chauvinism is the same: the interests of an insignificant layer of privileged workers and petty bourgeoisie who are defending their privileged positions, their "right" to the crumbs of profits which "their" national bourgeoisie receives from robbing other nations, from the advantages of its position as a great nation.

The ideological and political contents of opportunism and social-chauvinism is the same: class collaboration instead of class struggle; renunciation of revolutionary means of struggle; aiding "one's" own government in its difficulties instead of taking advantage of its difficulties to work for a revolution. If we take all European countries as a whole, if we look not at individual persons (however authoritative), it appears that the opportunist ideology has become the mainstay of social-chauvinism, whereas from the camp of the revolutionists we hear almost everywhere more or less consistent protests against it. If we take, for instance, the division of opinion manifested at the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress of 1907, we find that international Marxism was against imperialism while international opportunism was even then already for it.

UNITY WITH THE OPPORTUNISTS IS AN ALLIANCE OF THE WORKERS WITH "THEIR" NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE AND A SPLIT IN THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS

During the period that preceded the war, opportunism was often considered a legitimate component part of a Social-Democratic party, though "deviating" and "extreme." The war has proven the inadmissibility of this combination in the future. Opportunism has ripened, it has brought to completion its role of an emissary of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement. Unity with the opportunists has become nothing but hypocrisy, as evidenced by the example of the German Social-Democratic Party. On all important occasions (as at the voting of August 4) the opportunists confront the party with their ultimatum, the acceptance of which is secured through their numerous connections with the bourgeoisie, through their majorities on the executive committees of the labour unions, etc. To keep *united* with opportunism at the present time means *practically* to subjugate the working class to "its" bourgeoisie, to make an alliance with it for the oppression of other nations and for the struggle for the privileges of a great nation; at the same time it means splitting the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

However difficult it may be in individual cases to fight the opportunists who occupy a leading position in many organisations; whatever peculiar forms the process of purging the labour parties of the opportunists may assume in various countries, this process is inevitable and fruitful. Reformist Socialism is dying; regenerating Socialism "will be revolutionary, non-compromising, rebellious," according to the just expression of the French Socialist, Paul Golay.[146]

KAUTSKYISM

Kautsky, the greatest authority of the Second International, represents the most typical and striking example of how lip service to Marxism has in reality led to its transformation into "Struveism" or "Brentanoism." Plekhanov represents a similar example. Those people castrate Marxism; they purge it, by means of obvious sophisms, of its revolutionary living soul; they recognise in Marxism *everything except* revolutionary means of struggle, except the advocacy of, and the preparation for, such struggle, and the education of the masses in this direction. Kautsky quite meaninglessly "reconciles" the fundamental idea of social-chauvinism, the defence of the fatherland in this war, with a diplomatic sham concession to the Left, such as abstaining from voting appropriations, verbal expression of opposition, etc. Kautsky, who in 1909 wrote a book * predicting the approach of a revolutionary period and discussing the relation between war and revolution, Kautsky, who in 1912 signed the Basle Manifesto on revolutionary utilisation of the coming war, now justifies and embellishes social-chauvinism in every way. Like Plekhanov, he joins the bourgeoisie in ridiculing the very idea of revolution, in repudiating every step towards immediate revolutionary struggle.

The working class cannot realise its revolutionary role, which is of world significance, otherwise than by waging a merciless war against this desertion of principles, this supineness, this servility to opportunism and this unexampled theoretical vulgarisation of Marxism. Kautskyism is not an accident but a social product of the contradictions within the Second International which combined faithfulness to Marxism in words with submission to opportunism in deeds.

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* *Der Weg zur Macht* (English translation—*The Road to Power*).—*Ed.*

In every country this fundamental falsehood of Kautskyism assumes different forms. In Holland, Roland-Holst, though rejecting the idea of defence of the fatherland, is supporting unity with the party of the opportunists. In Russia, Trotsky, apparently repudiating this idea, also fights for unity with the opportunist and chauvinist group *Nasha Zarya.* In Rumania, Rakovsky, declaring war against opportunism which he blames for the collapse of the International, is at the same time ready to recognise the legitimacy of the idea of the defence of the fatherland. These are manifestations of the evil which the Dutch Marxists Gorter and Pannekoek have named "passive radicalism" and which reduces itself to substituting eclecticism for revolutionary Marxism in theory and to slavishness or impotence in the face of opportunism in practice.

THE SLOGAN OF MARXISTS IS THE SLOGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The war has undoubtedly created the acutest crisis and has incredibly intensified the sufferings of the masses. The reactionary character of this war, the shameless lie of the bourgeoisie of *all* countries which covers its predatory aims with "national" ideology, all this inevitably creates, on the basis of an objective revolutionary situation, revolutionary sentiments in the masses. Our duty is to help make these sentiments conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." *All* consistent class struggle in time of war, all "mass actions" earnestly conducted must inevitably lead to this. We cannot know whether in the first or in the second imperialist war between the great nations, whether during or after it, a strong revolutionary movement will flare up. Whatever the case may be, it is our absolute duty systematically and unflinchingly to work in that particular direction.

The Basle Manifesto directly refers to the example of the Paris Commune, *i. e.*, to turning a war between governments into civil war. Half a century ago, the proletariat was too weak; objective conditions for Socialism had not ripened yet; a co-ordination and co-operation of the revolutionary movements in all the belligerent countries could not take place; the fact that a section of the Paris workers was captivated by "national ideology" (traditions of 1792) was its petty-bourgeois weakness noted at the time by Marx, and one of the reasons for the collapse of the Commune. Now, half a century later, all the conditions that weakened the revolution are no more. At the present time it is unforgivable for a Socialist to countenance repudiation of activities in the spirit of the Paris Communards.

EXAMPLE OF FRATERNISATION IN THE TRENCHES

The bourgeois papers of all the belligerent countries have quoted examples of fraternisation between the soldiers of the belligerent nations, even in the trenches. The fact that the military authorities of Germany and England have issued severe orders against such fraternisation proves that the government and the bourgeoisie consider it of serious importance. If at a time when opportunism among the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe is supreme and social-chauvinism is supported by the entire Social-Democratic press as well as by all influential figures of the Second International, such cases of fraternisation are possible, how much nearer could we bring the end of this criminal, reactionary and slave-driving war and the organisation of a revolutionary international movement if systematic work were conducted in this direction, at least by the Left Socialists of all the belligerent countries!

IMPORTANCE OF ILLEGAL ORGANISATIONS

Like the opportunists, the most eminent Anarchists of the world have covered themselves in this war with the shame of social-chauvinism in the spirit of Plekhanov and Kautsky. One of its useful results, however, will undoubtedly be the death of both opportunism and Anarchism in this war. The Social-Democratic parties, in no case and under no conditions refusing to take advantage of the slightest legal possibility for the organisation of the masses and the preaching of Socialism, must do away with a servile attitude towards legalism. "Be the first to shoot, Messrs. Bourgeois!" Engels wrote in reference to civil war, pointing out the necessity for us to violate legality *after* it has been violated by the bourgeoisie. The crisis has shown that the bourgeoisie is violating legality in every country, including the freest, and that it is impossible to lead the masses towards revolution without creating an illegal organisation for preaching, discussing, analysing, preparing revolutionary means of struggle. In Germany, for instance, all *honest* activities of the Socialists are being conducted against abject opportunism and hypocritical "Kautskyism," and conducted illegally. In England, men are being sentenced to hard labour for appeals to abstain from joining the army.

To think that membership in a Social-Democratic party is compatible with repudiation of illegal methods of propaganda and the ridicule of them in the legal press is to betray Socialism.

DEFEAT OF "ONE'S OWN" GOVERNMENT IN IMPERIALIST WAR

The advocates of victory of "one's own" government in the present war, as well as the advocates of the slogan "Neither victory nor defeat," proceed equally from the standpoint of social-chauvinism. A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot help wishing the defeat of its government, it cannot fail to see the connection between the government's military reverses and the increased opportunity for overthrowing it. Only a bourgeois who believes that the war started by the governments will necessarily end as a war between governments, and who wishes it to be so, finds "ridiculous" or "absurd" the idea that the Socialists of *all* the belligerent countries should express their wish that *all* "their" governments be defeated. On the contrary, such expression would coincide with the hidden thoughts of every class-conscious worker, and would lie along the line of our activity which tends to turn the imperialist war into civil war.

An earnest anti-war propaganda by a section of the English, German and Russian Socialists would undoubtedly "weaken the military strength" of the respective governments, but such propaganda would be to the credit of the Socialists. The Socialists must explain to the masses that there is no salvation for them outside of a revolutionary overthrow of "their" governments and that the difficulties of those governments in the present war must be taken advantage of for just this purpose.

PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SLOGAN

A mass sentiment for peace often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to take advantage of this sentiment. They will take the most ardent part in every movement and in every demonstration made on this basis, but they will not deceive the people by assuming that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to have peace without annexations, without the oppression of nations, without robbery, without planting the seed of new wars among the present governments and the ruling classes. Such deception would only play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries and their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie.

RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The most widespread deception of the people by the bourgeoisie in the present war consists in hiding its predatory aims under an ideology of "national liberation." The English promise freedom to Belgium, the Germans to Poland, etc. As we have seen, this is in reality a war of the oppressors of the majority of the nations of the world for the deepening and widening of such oppression.

The Socialists cannot reach their great aim without fighting against every form of national oppression. They must therefore unequivocally demand that the Social-Democrats of the *oppressing* countries (of the so-called "great" nations in particular) should recognise and defend the right of the *oppressed* nations to self-determination in the political sense of the word, *i. e.*, the right to political separation. A Socialist of a great nation or a nation possessing colonies who does not defend this right is a chauvinist.

To defend this right does in no way mean to encourage the formation of small states, but on the contrary it leads to a freer, more fearless and therefore wider and more universal formation of larger governments and unions of governments—a phenomenon more advantageous for the masses and more in accord with economic development.

On the other hand, the Socialists of the *oppressed* nations must unequivocally fight for complete unity of the *workers* of both the oppressed and the oppressor nationalities (which also means organisational unity). The idea of a lawful separation between one nationality and the other (the so-called "national cultural autonomy" of Bauer and Renner) is a reactionary idea.

Imperialism is the period of an increasing oppression of the nations of the whole world by a handful of "great" nations; the struggle for a Socialist international revolution against imperialism is therefore impossible without the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination. "No people oppressing other peoples can be free" (Marx and Engels).* No proletariat reconciling itself to the least violation by "its" nation of the rights of other nations can be Socialist.

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* Engels in *Volksstaat*, 1874, No. 69.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER II

CLASSES AND PARTIES IN RUSSIA

THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE WAR

In one respect the Russian government did not fall behind its European confrères: like them, it succeeded in deceiving "its" people on a grandiose scale. A gigantic, monstrous apparatus of lies and cunning fabrications was put to work in Russia to infect the masses with chauvinism, to create the idea that the tsarist government is waging a "just" war, that it unselfishly "defends its Slav brothers," etc.

The class of landowners and the upper strata of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie have ardently supported the military policy of the Tsar's government. They justly expect tremendous material advantages and privileges for themselves from the division of the Turkish and Austrian inheritance. Many congresses of these classes have already taken stock of the profits which would flow into their pockets after a victory of the tsarist army. Besides, the reactionaries understand very well that if anything can still postpone the fall of the Romanov monarchy and forestall a new revolution in Russia, it is a war won by the Tsar.

Large strata of the "middle" city bourgeoisie, of the bourgeois intelligentsia, of the members of liberal professions, etc., have also been infected by chauvinism, at least at the beginning of the war. The party of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie, the Constitutional-Democrats, has given full and unconditional support to the tsarist government. In the field of foreign politics, the Cadets have long been a government party. Panslavism, by means of which the Tsar's diplomacy more than once accomplished its grandiose political pettifoggings, has become the official ideology of the Cadets. Russian liberalism has degenerated into *national* liberalism. It vies with the Black Hundred in "patriotism"; it is always willing to vote for militarism, navalism, etc. In the camp of Russian liberalism, the same phenomenon can be observed which took place in the seventies in Germany when "liberty loving" liberalism degenerated and gave birth to the National-Liberal Party. The Russian liberal bourgeoisie has definitely placed itself on the road of counter-revolution. The point of view of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in this respect has thus been fully confirmed. Life has shattered the view of our opportunists that Russian liberalism is still a moving force of the revolution in Russia.

The ruling clique has also succeeded, by means of the bourgeois press, the clergy, etc., in creating a chauvinist sentiment among the peasantry. With the return of the soldiers from the battlefields, however, the mood of the village will undoubtedly undergo a change not in favour of the Tsar's monarchy. Bourgeois democratic parties in contact with the peasantry have not stood their ground against the chauvinist wave. The party of the Trudoviks in the Imperial Duma refused to vote military appropriations, but through the mouth of its leader Kerensky it made public a "patriotic" declaration which was of great service to the monarchy. All the legal press of the Narodniks [Populists—*Ed.*] has generally followed the liberals. Even the Left Wing of bourgeois democracy, the so-called Party of the Socialists-Revolutionists affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau, has swum with the current. The half abstaining from voting. In the illegal press of the Socialists-Mr. H. Rubanovich, has openly appeared as a social-chauvinist. Half of the delegates of this party to the London conference of the Entente Socialists voted for a chauvinist resolution, the other half abstaining from voting. In the illegal press of the Socialists-Revolutionists (the paper *Novosti* [*News*], etc.), the chauvinists predominate. The revolutionists from among the bourgeoisie, *i. e.*, bourgeois revolutionists not connected with the working class, have suffered a cruel downfall in this war. The lamentable fate of Kropotkin, Burtsev, Rubanovich, is extremely significant.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE WAR

The only class in Russia which the government and the bourgeoisie have not succeeded in inoculating with the plague of chauvinism, is the proletariat. Sporadic excesses at the beginning of the war attracted only the most backward strata of the workers. The participation of the workers in the unsightly Moscow riots against the Germans has been greatly exaggerated. By and large, the working class of Russia has proven immune against chauvinism.

The explanation lies, first, in the revolutionary situation that prevails in the country; second, in the general conditions of the Russian proletariat.

The years 1912-1914 marked the beginning of a new, grandiose revolutionary upheaval in Russia. We again witnessed a great strike movement, the like of which the world does not know. A mass revolutionary strike in 1913 embraced, according to the most conservative estimate, a million and a half participants; in 1914 it exceeded two millions and was approaching the level of 1905. On the very eve of the war things reached a climax in St. Petersburg: the first barricade battles had begun.

The illegal Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has fulfilled its duty before the International. The banner of internationalism has not wavered in its hands. Our party has long severed organisational relations with the opportunist groups and elements. The ball and chain of opportunism and "legalism at any price" has not impeded the feet of our party. The circumstance has helped it to fulfil its revolutionary duty just as the split with the opportunist party of Bissolati has helped the Italian comrades.

The general situation in our country is unfavourable for the thriving of "Socialist" opportunism among the working masses. In Russia we see a series of shades of opportunism and reformism among the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, etc., but among the politically active strata of the workers the opportunists are an insignificant minority. The layer of privileged workers and office staffs is very thin in Russia; the fetishism of legality could not be created there. The Liquidators (party of opportunists led by Axelrod, Potresov, Cherevanin, Maslov, and others) had no serious support in the working masses prior to the war. The elections to the Fourth Imperial Duma resulted in *all* the six workers' Deputies being elected from among the opponents of Liquidationism. The circulation of, and the collections for, the legal workers' press in Petrograd and Moscow have proven beyond dispute that four-fifths of the class-conscious workers are marching against opportunism and Liquidationism.

Since the beginning of the war, the tsarist government has arrested and exiled thousands upon thousands of advanced workers, members of our illegal Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. This circumstance, together with the introduction of martial law in the country, with the closing down of our papers, etc., has halted the movement. But the illegal revolutionary work of our party still continues. In Petrograd our party committee issues an illegal paper *Proletarsky Golos* [*Proletarian Voice*].[147]

Articles from the Central Organ, the *Sotsial-Demokrat,* which appears abroad, are being reprinted in Petrograd and sent to the provincial towns. Illegal proclamations are published, and they are also distributed in the barracks. Illegal gatherings of workers are taking place outside of the city in various secret places. Recently, large strikes of metal workers started in Petrograd. In connection with these strikes our Petrograd committee has issued several appeals to the workers.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR FRACTION IN THE IMPERIAL DUMA AND THE WAR

In 1913, the Social-Democratic Deputies of the Imperial Duma split. On one side there appeared seven adherents of opportunism under the leadership of Chkheidze. They had been elected in seven non-proletarian provinces, where there were only 214,000 workers. On the other side there were six Deputies, all from the workers' electorate, elected in the industrial centres of Russia, where the number of workers was 1,008,000.

The main point of controversy was the tactics of revolutionary Marxism vs. the tactics of opportunist reformism. In practice, the disagreement manifested itself largely in the realm of extra-parliamentary work among the masses. In Russia this work had to be done illegally if those who did it wished to remain on revolutionary ground. Chkheidze's fraction proved a loyal ally of the Liquidators who repudiated illegal work; it defended them in every discussion with the workers, in every gathering. Hence the split, after which six Deputies formed the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction. A year of work proved beyond dispute that behind this group stood an overwhelming majority of the Russian workers.

With the beginning of the war, the difference between the policies of the groups made itself manifest with extraordinary clarity. Chkheidze's group confined itself to the parliamentary field. It did not vote appropriations, since it would have roused a storm of indignation among the workers. (We have seen that, in Russia, even petty-bourgeois Trudoviks did not vote for the appropriations.) Neither did it protest against social-chauvinism.

The R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction, which expressed the political line of our party, chose a different course. It carried the protest against the war into the very midst of the working class; it carried the propaganda against imperialism into the broad mass of Russian proletarians.

It met with a very sympathetic response on the part of the workers which frightened the government and compelled it, in flagrant violation of its own laws, to arrest and sentence our comrade Deputies to life-long exile under police surveillance in Siberia. In its first official communiqué on the arrest of our comrades, the tsarist government wrote:

> A position distinct from all the others was in this respect taken by some members of Social-Democratic societies whose activities aimed at shaking the military power of Russia by way of propaganda against the war, by means of underground appeals and oral propaganda.

To Vandervelde's famous appeal in which he asked the "temporary" cessation of the struggle against tsarism—an appeal which, according to the testimony of the Tsar's ambassador in Belgium, Prince Kudashev, was composed not by Vandervelde alone but in collaboration with that Tsar's ambassador—*only* our party, through its Central Committee, gave a negative reply. The leading centre of the Liquidators agreed with Vandervelde and officially declared in the press that "in its activities it *does not oppose the war*."

The first accusation made by the tsarist government against our comrades, the Deputies, was that they had conducted propaganda among the workers in favour of a negative reply to Vandervelde.

At the trial, the Tsar's attorney, Mr. Nenarokomov, held up before our comrades the worthy example of the German and French Socialists. "The German Social-Democrats," he said, "voted for military appropriations and proved friends of the government. This is how the German Social-Democrats acted, but this is not how the Don Quixotes of the Russian Social-Democracy acted. . . . The Socialists of Belgium and France at once forgot their party disputes and unhesitatingly took their places under the banners." Quite different was the behaviour of the members of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction which acted under the directions of the Central Committee of the party.

The trial unfolded an impressive picture of a widespread illegal anti-war propaganda conducted by our party among the masses of the proletariat. Naturally, the Tsar's court succeeded in "uncovering" only a very small part of the activities of our comrades in this respect. But even the part that was revealed indicated how much had been done in the brief space of several months.

Illegal appeals of our groups and committees against the war and for international tactics were made public at the trial. From the class-conscious workers of all Russia feelers were reaching out to the members of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction and the latter utilised all its forces to help the workers understand the war from the standpoint of Marxism.

Comrade Muranov, a Deputy of the workers of the province of Kharkov, said at the trial:

"Knowing that I had been sent by the people to the Imperial Duma not to wear out the Duma chair, I travelled over the provinces to get acquainted with the sentiments of the working class." He also admitted at the trial that he had taken upon himself the functions of an illegal agitator of our party, that in the Ural he organised a workers' committee in the Verkhneisetsk plant and in other places. The trial proved that after the beginning of the war the members of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction had travelled over almost all of Russia for the sake of propaganda; that Muranov, Petrovsky, Badayev and others had organised numerous workers' meetings where resolutions against the war were adopted, etc.

The tsarist government threatened the defendants with capital punishment. In view of this, at the trial itself, not all of them stood up as courageously as did Comrade Muranov. They wished to make it difficult for the Tsar's attorneys to convict them. This is now being utilised by the Russian social-chauvinists in an unworthy manner to becloud the substance of the question as to what kind of parliamentarism is needed for the working class. Parliamentarism is being recognised by Südekum and Heine, by Sembat and Vaillant, by Bissolati and Mussolini, by Chkheidze and Plekhanov.

Parliamentarism is also being recognised by our comrades of the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction; it is being recognised by the Bulgarian and Italian comrades who have split from the chauvinists. There is parliamentarism and parliamentarism. Some utilise the parliamentary arena to curry favour with their government or, at best, to wash their hands of everything, as did Chkheidze's group. Others utilise parliamentarism to remain revolutionists to the very end, to fulfil their duty as Socialists and internationalists even under the most difficult circumstances. The parliamentarism of the former leads them to ministerial chairs; the parliamentary activity of the latter leads them to prison, exile, hard labour. The former serve the bourgeoisie; the latter, the proletariat. The former are social-imperialists. The latter are revolutionary Marxists.

CHAPTER III

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL

How shall the International be reconstructed? But first a few words as to how the International *must not* be reconstructed.

METHOD OF THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS AND OF THE "CENTRE"

Oh, the social-chauvinists of all countries are great "internationalists!" Since the beginning of the war, they have been burdened with care for the International! On the one hand they assert that the talk about the *collapse* of the International is exaggerated. In reality, they say, nothing in particular has happened. Listen to Kautsky: The International, he says, is simply "an instrument of peace time," and it is not surprising that in war time this instrument proved somewhat deficient. On the other hand, the social-chauvinists of all countries have found one very simple and, what is more, an international, way to get out of the present dilemma. Their remedy is not complicated, indeed; one must only wait, they say, until the end of the war; up to that time the Socialists of every country should defend their "fatherland" and support "their" governments; after the end of the war they should grant each other "amnesty," recognising that *all* were right, that in peace time we live like brothers while in war time, in strict accordance with such and such resolutions, we call on the German workers to annihilate their French brothers, and vice versa.

This is equally agreed upon by Kautsky and Plekhanov, Victor Adler and Heine. Victor Adler writes that "when we shall have lived through this difficult time, our first duty will be to refrain from calling each other to account for every trifle." [148] Kautsky asserts that "no earnest Socialists of any country have expressed themselves in a manner to make us afraid" of the fate of the International. Plekhanov says, "It is unpleasant to shake the hands" (of the German Social-Democrats) "which reek with the blood of those innocently murdered," but at the same time he, too, proposes "amnesty": "To subordinate the *heart to reason*," he writes, "would here be entirely in place. For the sake of the great cause of the International, even belated expressions of regret will have to be taken into account." Heine, in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, calls Vandervelde's behaviour "courageous and dignified" and holds it up as an example for the German Left.[149]

In brief, when the war is over, appoint a commission of Kautsky, Plekhanov, Vandervelde, and Adler, and a "unanimous" resolution will momentarily be framed in the spirit of mutual amnesty. The controversy will have been peacefully glossed over. Instead of aiding the workers to understand what happened, they will deceive them by a show of paper "unity." A union of social-chauvinists and hypocrites of all countries will be termed the reconstruction of the International.

We must not hide from ourselves the fact that the danger of such "reconstruction" is very great. The social-chauvinists of all countries are equally interested in such an outcome. They are all equally unwilling to allow that the working masses of their respective countries should by themselves gain clarity as to the question: Socialism or nationalism? They are all equally interested in covering up each other's sins. None of them can propose anything outside of what is being proposed by Kautsky, that virtuoso of "international" hypocrisy.

However, this danger is little understood. One year of war has witnessed a series of attempts at re-establishing international connections. We will not speak of the London and Vienna [150] Conferences where outspoken chauvinists gathered to help the general staffs and the bourgeoisie of "their" fatherlands. We have in mind the Lugano and Copenhagen [151] Conferences, the International Women's Conference, and the International Youth Conference.[152] These gatherings were animated by the best intentions, but they entirely failed to see the above danger. They did not map out a fighting line for the internationalists. They did not call the attention of the proletariat to the danger lurking for it in the social-chauvinists' method of "reconstructing" the International. At best, they confined themselves to a repetition of old resolutions without pointing out to the workers that, without a struggle against the social-chauvinists, the cause of Socialism is hopeless. At best they were marking time.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE OPPOSITION

The state of affairs in the ranks of the German Social-Democratic opposition is undoubtedly of the greatest interest to all the internationalists. The Official German Social-Democracy, formerly the strongest and the leading party of the Second International, has dealt the international organisation of the workers the most telling blow. But it transpires that the opposition within the German Social-Democracy is also the strongest. Of the great European parties, it was in the German party that the comrades who had remained loyal to the banner of Socialism had first raised a loud cry of protest. With joy we read the magazines *Lichtstrahlen* and *Die Internationale;* with still greater joy we have learned of the distribution in Germany of illegal revolutionary appeals such as, for instance, *Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land* [*The Main Enemy Is in Our Own Country*].[153] This revealed the fact that the spirit of Socialism was alive among the German workers, that there still were men in Germany capable of defending revolutionary Marxism.

The split in modern Socialism has manifested itself most glaringly within German Social-Democracy. We note here three very clearly defined lines: the opportunist-chauvinists who nowhere have sunk to such a level of degradation and renegadism as in Germany; the Kautskyist "centre" which has proven completely incapable of playing any other role than that of a satellite to the opportunists; and the Left which represents the only Social-Democrats in Germany.

We are naturally most interested in the state of affairs inside of the German Left. We see in it our comrades, the hope of all the internationalist elements.

What, then, is that state of affairs?

Die Internationale was perfectly right when it said that within the German Left everything was still in a state of ferment, that great re-groupings were still ahead, that there were in its midst more outspoken and less outspoken elements.

We Russian internationalists, of course, in no way assume to meddle in the internal affairs of our comrades, the German Left. We understand that they alone are perfectly competent to define their methods of struggle against the opportunists in accordance with the conditions of time and place. We only consider it our right and our duty openly to express our opinion concerning that state of affairs.

We are convinced that the author of the editorial in *Die Internationale* was perfectly right when he said that the Kautskyist "centre" was more harmful to the cause of Marxism than open social-chauvinism. He who at present glosses over discords, who, under the cloak of Marxism, preaches to the workers the things preached by Kautskyism, is merely lulling the workers to sleep, is more pernicious than the Südekums or Heines, who put the question squarely and compel the workers to make up their minds.

The fact that, of late, Kautsky and Haase are allowing themselves to demur against the "higher-ups" should deceive no one. The differences between them and the Scheidemanns are not those of principle. One group assumes that Hindenburg and Mackensen have already won the war and that therefore they can allow themselves the luxury of a protest against annexations. The other group thinks that Hindenburg and Mackensen have not yet won the war and that it is necessary to "see it through."

Kautskyism is conducting a sham fight against the "higher-ups"—in order to be able, when the war is over, to hide from the workers the clash of principles, to plaster up the issue by a thousand and one swollen resolutions in a hazy "Left" spirit (it is known that the diplomats of the Second International are past masters in this kind of work).

It goes without saying that, in its difficult struggle against the "higher-ups," the German opposition must take advantage even of this unprincipled opposition of Kautskyism. A hostile attitude towards neo-Kautskyism, however, must remain the touchstone for every internationalist. Only he is a real internationalist who fights against Kautskyism, who understands that even *after* the so-called change of heart by its leaders, the centre remains in principle an ally of the chauvinists and opportunists.

Generally speaking, our attitude towards the vacillating elements in the International is of tremendous importance. Those elements, namely Socialists of a *pacifist* shade, exist both in the neutral and in some belligerent countries (in England, for instance, the Independent Labour Party). These elements can be our fellow travellers. It is necessary to get closer to them with the aim of fighting the social-chauvinists. But we must remember that they are *only* fellow travellers; that as far as the main and fundamental problems are concerned, when the International is reconstructed, those same elements will go, not with us, but against us, with Kautsky, Scheidemann, Vandervelde, Sembat. At international conferences we must not confine our programme to what is acceptable to these elements, if we do not wish to become prisoners of the vacillating pacifists. This happened, for instance, at the International Women's Conference in Berne, where the German delegation, adhering to the standpoint of Comrade Clara Zetkin, in practice played the part of a "centre." The Women's Conference said only that which was acceptable to the delegates of the opportunist Dutch party of Troelstra and of the I. L. P., the latter, let us not forget, being the party which at the London Conference of the Entente chauvinists had voted in favour of Vandervelde's resolution. We pay the I. L. P. the tribute of greatest respect for its courageous struggle against the English government in war time. But we know that this party has never accepted the principles of Marxism, while, in our conviction, it is the chief task of the Social-Democratic opposition at the present moment to raise the banner of revolutionary Marxism, to tell the workers, firmly and definitely, how we look upon imperialist wars, to put forth the slogan of mass revolutionary action, *i.e.*, to turn the period of imperialist war into the beginning of a period of civil wars.

Revolutionary Social-Democratic elements exist in many countries in spite of everything. They exist in Germany, in Russia, and in Scandinavia (an influential trend of opinion represented by Comrade Höglund), in the Balkans (the party of the Bulgarian "Tesnyaks"), in Italy, in England (part of the British Socialist Party), in France (where Vaillant admitted in *L'Humanité* that he had received letters of protest from the internationalists, of which, however, he published none in full), in Holland ("Tribunists"), etc. To unite these Marxian elements, however small their number may be at the beginning, to revive in their name the words of real Socialism now forgotten, to call the workers of all countries to relinquish chauvinism and raise the old banner of Marxism, this is the task of the day.

Hitherto, conferences with so-called programmes of "actions" have confined themselves to a more or less outspoken programme of pure pacifism. Marxism is not pacifism. It is necessary *to fight* for a speedy end of the war. But only through a call to *revolutionary* struggle will the "peace" demand gain proletarian content. Without a series of revolutions, the so-called democratic peace is a petty-bourgeois Utopia. The only real programme of action, then, would be the Marxian programme which brings the masses a complete and clear understanding of what has happened; which explains what imperialism is and how to fight against it; which declares openly that opportunism has brought about the collapse of the Second International; which appeals to the workers to build up a Marxian International openly without and *against* the opportunists. Only such a programme showing that we believe in ourselves, that we believe in Marxism, that we declare a life and death struggle against opportunism, would sooner or later secure for us the sympathy of the real proletarian masses.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party has long split away from its opportunists. The Russian opportunists have now, in addition, become chauvinists. This only reinforces us in our belief that a split with them is necessary in the interests of Socialism. We are convinced that the present differences between the Social-Democrats and the social-chauvinists are by no means smaller than the differences that existed between the Socialists and Anarchists when the Social-Democrats split away from the latter. An opportunist by the name of Monitor has rightly said in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* [*Prussian Annals*][154] that the present unity is good for the opportunists and for the bourgeoisie, because it forces the Left to yield to the chauvinists and prevents the workers from getting to the bottom of the controversy and from creating their own real labour party, a real Socialist party. We are firmly convinced that it is the prime duty of a revolutionist in the present conditions to split away from the opportunists and chauvinists. This is just as necessary as the split with the yellows, the anti-Semites, the liberal workers' unions, etc., was necessary in order more quickly to enlighten the backward workers and to draw them into the ranks of the Social-Democratic parties.

It is our opinion that the Third International ought to be created on this revolutionary basis. Our party does not even question any more the expediency of breaking with the social-chauvinists. This question has been decided by it unreservedly. The question that interests it is how to carry it out in the near future on an international scale.

It is quite obvious that in order to create an *international* Marxist organisation, the separate countries must be ready to create independent local Marxist parties. Germany, the home of the oldest and strongest labour movement, is of decisive importance. The near future will show whether conditions have already become ripe for the creation of a new Marxist International. If so, our party will gladly join such a Third International, purged of opportunism and chauvinism. If not, it will mean that a more or less protracted period of evolution is required before this task of purging is completed. Our party will then be the extreme opposition inside the old International pending a time when the basis for an International Association of Workers resting on the basis of revolutionary Marxism will have been created in the various countries. We do not and we cannot know which road developments will take in the coming years, internationally. What we know, however, what we are most firmly convinced of, is that in *our* country, amongst *our* proletariat, our party will untiringly work in the indicated direction, that by its daily activities it will be creating the Russian section of a Marxist International.

Russia is at present not lacking in frank social-chauvinists and in groups of the "centre." These people will struggle against the organisation of a Marxist International. We know that Plekhanov accepts the principles of Südekum and is reaching out to join hands with him. We know that the so-called Organisation Committee under Axelrod's leadership is preaching Kautskyism on Russian soil. Under the cloak of unity of the working class those people preach unity with the opportunists and through them with the bourgeoisie. What we know of the present Russian labour movement, however, gives us full assurance that the class-conscious proletariat of Russia will, as hitherto, remain *with our party.*

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE SPLIT, AND THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

THE tactics of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in relation to the war, as outlined above, represent the inevitable result of thirty years' development of Social-Democracy in Russia. One cannot correctly understand either these tactics or the present situation of Social-Democracy in our country without going deeper into the history of our party. It is for this reason that we must remind the reader of the main data of this history.

As an ideological tendency, Social-Democracy came into existence in 1883 when the Social-Democratic views, as applied to Russia, were for the first time systematically expounded abroad by the Liberation of Labour group. Up to the beginning of the nineties, Social-Democracy remained an ideological tendency without connections with the mass labour movement in Russia. At the beginning of the nineties the spread of political unrest in the country, the fermentation and the strike movement among the workers made Social-Democracy an active political force inseparably connected with the struggle, both economic and political, of the working class. From that moment also begins the split of Social-Democracy into Economists and Iskraists.*

THE ECONOMISTS AND THE OLD "ISKRA" ** (1894-1903)

Economism was an opportunist trend within the Russian Social-Democracy. Its political substance reduced itself to a programme declaring that "economic" struggle is the task of the workers, political struggle that of the liberals. Its main theoretical support was the so-called "legal Marxism" or "Struveism" which recognised a species of "Marxism" entirely purged of revolutionary spirit and adapted to the requirements of the liberal bourgeoisie. Referring to the backwardness of the masses of the workers in Russia, and wishing

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* See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—*Ed.*

** *Spark.—Ed.*

"to go with the masses," the Economists confined the task and the scope of the labour movement to economic struggle and to the political support of liberalism, without setting for themselves independent political tasks, or any kind of revolutionary tasks.

The old *Iskra* (1900-1903) victoriously fought Economism in the name of the principles of revolutionary Social-Democracy. The flower of the class-conscious proletariat went over to the *Iskra* in a body. A few years before the revolution, Social-Democracy advanced a most consistent and uncompromising programme. The struggle of the classes, the upheaval of the masses in the course of the 1905 Revolution, proved the correctness of that programme. The Economists had adapted themselves to the backwardness of the masses. The *Iskra* stepped forth as the vanguard of the workers, capable of leading the masses onward. The present-day arguments of the social-chauvinists (necessity of reckoning with the masses, progressivism of imperialism, "illusions" of the revolutionists, etc.) had *all* been advanced by the Economists in their time. The opportunist adulteration of Marxism as Struveism became known to Social-Democratic Russia twenty years ago.

MENSHEVISM AND BOLSHEVISM (1903-1908)

The period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution called forth a new struggle of policies within Social-Democracy, a direct continuation of the former struggle. Economism was transformed into "Menshevism." The defence of the revolutionary tactics of the old *Iskra* created "Bolshevism."

In the stormy years of 1905-1907, Menshevism was an opportunist current supported by the liberal bourgeoisie and introducing liberal bourgeois tendencies into the labour movement. To adapt the struggle of the working class to liberalism, that was its substance. Bolshevism, on the other hand, saw the task of the Social-Democratic workers in arousing the democratic peasantry to a revolutionary struggle in spite of the vacillations and betrayals of Liberalism. It has been repeatedly recognised by the Mensheviks themselves that during the revolution the working masses followed the Bolsheviks in every important undertaking.

The 1905 Revolution confirmed, strengthened, deepened, and hardened the irreconcilably revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics in Russia. Open actions of classes and parties more than once revealed a connection between Social-Democratic opportunism ("Menshevism") and Liberalism.

MARXISM AND LIQUIDATIONISM (1908-1914)

The period of counter-revolution again placed on the order of the day of Social-Democracy the question of opportunist vs. revolutionary tactics, but in a totally new form. The main body of Menshevism, disregarding the protests of many of its best representatives, gave birth to a policy known as Liquidationism which meant relinquishing the struggle for a new revolution in Russia, relinquishing underground organisation and work, scoffing scornfully at the "underground," at the slogan of a republic, etc. A group of contributors to the legal magazine *Nasha Zarya* (Messrs. Potresov, Cherevanin, etc.) formed a nucleus which, being independent of the old Social-Democratic Party, has in a thousand ways been supported, advertised, and petted by the liberal bourgeoisie of Russia in its attempt to make the Russian workers lose the habit of revolutionary struggle.

This group of opportunists was expelled from the party by the January, 1912, Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which reconstituted the party against the frantic resistance of a number of big and small groups living abroad. For more than two years (beginning of 1912 to the middle of 1914) a tenacious struggle was going on between the two Social-Democratic parties, that is, between the Central Committee which had been elected in January, 1912, and the Organisation Committee which did not recognise the January Conference and wished to reconstitute the party on a different basis while maintaining unity with the group of *Nasha Zarya*. There was a tenacious struggle also between the two daily labour papers (the *Pravda* and *Luch* [*Ray*] and between their respective successors) and between the two Social-Democratic groups in the Fourth Imperial Duma (the R.S.-D.L.P. Fraction of Pravdists or Marxists, and the "Social-Democratic" group of Liquidators led by Chkheidze).

Fighting for loyalty to the revolutionary traditions of the party; sponsoring the new wave of unrest which was mounting among the working class, especially after the spring of 1912; combining legal with illegal organisations, press and propaganda, the Pravdists cemented around themselves an overwhelming majority of the class-conscious working class, whereas the Liquidators, acting as a political power exclusively through the group of *Nasha Zarya,* based themselves on an all-around support of the liberal bourgeois elements.

Open monetary contributions of the workers' groups to the papers of both parties, being at that time a form of Social-Democratic *membership dues* adapted to Russian conditions (the only one *legally* admitted and publicly controlled) proved in a concrete manner the proletarian source of the "Pravdists'" (Marxists') strength and influence, and the bourgeois-liberal source of the Liquidators (with their Organisation Committee). Here are some figures relative to the contributions, as given at length in the book, *Marxism and Liquidationism,*[155] and in an abbreviated form in the German Social-Democratic paper *Leipziger Volkszeitung* [*Leipzig People's Gazette*], July 21, 1914.

Number and amount of contributions to the daily St. Petersburg papers, the Marxist (Pravdist) and Liquidationist, from Jan. 1 to May 13, 1914.

	PRAVDISTS		LIQUIDATORS	
	No. of Contributions	Amount (in rubles)	No. of Contributions	Amount (in rubles)
From workers' groups	2,873	18,934	671	5,296
From other sources	713	2,650	423	6,760

It thus appears that in 1914 our party rallied four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia to the support of the revolutionary Social-Democratic tactics. Throughout the whole year of 1913, the number of contributions from workers' groups was 2,181 for the Pravdists and 661 for the Liquidators. From Jan. 1, 1913, to May 13, 1914, the number of contributions from workers' groups was: Pravdists (*i. e.,* our party) 5,054, Liquidators, 1,332, *i. e.,* 20.8 per cent.

MARXISM AND SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM (1914-1915)

The great European War of 1914-1915 gave the European as well as the Russian Social-Democrats a chance to test the correctness of their tactics by applying them to a world-wide crisis. The reactionary, predatory, slave-driving character of the present war is infinitely more obvious in relation to tsarism than in relation to other governments. Still, the main group of Liquidators (the only one which, aside from ours, has a considerable influence in Russia, thanks to its liberal connections) turned towards social-chauvinism! Having had for a considerable length of time the monopoly of legality, this group, *Nasha Zarya,* conducted a propaganda among the masses in favour of "not resisting the war," in favour of a victory for the Triple (at present Quadruple) Entente, and accused German imperialism of "extraordinary sins," etc. Plekhanov, who since 1903 has repeatedly shown examples of his utter lack of political character, and who often went over to the opportunists, took this position even more decisively. For this action he is acclaimed by the whole bourgeois press of Russia. So deep has Plekhanov sunk, that he declares the tsarist war to be a just war and is publishing interviews in the government papers of Italy, enticing it to join the war.

Thus it was sufficiently proven that we were right in our understanding of Liquidationism and in excluding the main group of Liquidators from our party. The actual programme of the Liquidators and the actual meaning of their line of action is not only opportunism as such, but a direct defence of the privileges of Russia as a great nation and of the prerogatives of the great Russian landowners and the bourgeoisie. Liquidationism is at present a *national-liberal* trend in the labour movement. It is an alliance of a section of the radical petty bourgeoisie and a negligible number of privileged workers with "their" national bourgeoisie against the masses of the proletariat.

THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

As mentioned above, neither the Liquidators nor the numerous groups living abroad (those of Plekhanov, Alexinsky, Trotsky and others), nor the so-called "national" Social-Democrats (of the non-Russian nationalities) recognised our January, 1912, Conference. The accusations that were most often repeated in the numberless invectives hurled at us were "usurpation" and "split." Our reply to these accusations consisted in quoting exact figures and objectively verifiable proof to the effect that our party had united four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia. Not a small achievement under the hardships of illegal work in a counter-revolutionary period.

If unity were possible in Russia on the basis of Social-Democratic tactics without excluding the group of *Nasha Zarya,* why has this unity not been accomplished by our numberless opponents *at least among themselves?* Three and a half years have passed since January, 1912, and during all this time our opponents, while wishing it ardently, were in no position to create a Social-Democratic party against us. This is the best defence of our party.

The history of those Social-Democratic groups which struggle against our party is a history of breakdown and degeneration. In March, 1912, all of them, without exception, "united" in reviling us. In August, 1912, however, when the so-called "August Bloc" against us was created, disintegration set in. Part of their groups split away. They were in no position to create a party and a Central Committee. What they created was an Organisation Committee "for the re-establishment of unity." In reality, this Organisation Committee proved an ineffective shield for the Liquidationist group in Russia. Through the whole period of a tremendous rising wave of the labour movement in Russia and of the mass strikes of 1912-1914, the only group of the August Bloc which conducted work among the masses was *Nasha Zarya,* whose strength is in its liberal connections. At the beginning of 1914, the August Bloc was formally relinquished by the Lettish Social-Democrats (the Polish Social-Democrats did not belong to it), whereas Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Bloc, relinquished it informally, having created his own separate group. In July, 1914, at a conference in Brussels with the participation of the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, also Kautsky and Vandervelde, the so-called Brussels Bloc was formed against us; it was not joined in by the Letts and immediately after its formation was relinquished by the Polish Social-Democrats, who belong to the opposition. After the beginning of the war this Bloc broke up. *Nasha Zarya,* Plekhanov, Alexinsky, and the leader of the Caucasian Social-Democrats, An, became open social-chauvinists, preaching the desirability of a German defeat. The Organisation Committee and the Bund defend social-chauvinists and the foundations of social-chauvinism. Chkheidze's fraction, having voted against military appropriations (in Russia even the bourgeois democrats, the Trudoviks, voted against them), nevertheless remained a loyal ally of *Nasha Zarya.* Our extreme social-chauvinists, Plekhanov, Alexinsky and Co., are perfectly satisfied with other [illegible]dze's fraction. In Paris, a paper *Nashe Slovo* (formerly one which, [illegible] founded, with Martov and Trotsky as the main contributors, both wishing to combine a platonic defence of internationalism with an unconditional demand of unity with *Nasha Zarya*, the Organisation Committee, or Chkheidze's fraction. Having published 250 issues, the paper is compelled to admit its disintegration: one part of the editorial staff is heading towards our party, Martov "remaining loyal" to the Organisation Committee, which publicly denounces the *Nashe Slovo* for "Anarchism" (in the same way as the opportunists of Germany, David and Co., the *Internationale Korrespondenz* [*International Correspondence*],[156] Legien and Co., accuse Comrade Liebknecht of Anarchism); Trotsky makes known his breach with the Organisation Committee, but he wishes to go together with the Chkheidze fraction. Here is the programme of Chkheidze's fraction as expressed by one of its leaders. In No. 5 of the *Sovremenny Mir* [*Contemporary World*] of 1915, a magazine of Plekhanov's and Alexinsky's orientation, Chkhenkeli writes: "*To say that German Social-Democracy was in a position to prevent the military action of its country but failed to do so, would mean either covertly to wish that it should exhale on the barricades not only its own last breath but the last breath of its fatherland as well, or to look at things near-by through an Anarchist's telescope.*" * [157]

These few lines express the sum and substance of social-chauvinism: a justification, in principle, of the "defence of the fatherland" idea in the present war; mockery, by permission of the military censors, at the advocacy of and preparation for a revolution. Whether the German Social-Democracy was capable of preventing the war, whether the revolutionists are, in general, capable of guaranteeing the success of a revolution, is beside the point. The question is, should we conduct ourselves as Socialists or should we actually "exhale our last breath" in the embrace of the imperialist bourgeoisie?

TASKS OF OUR PARTY

Social-Democracy in Russia came into being before the bourgeois democratic revolution (1905) and became strong during the revolution and counter-revolution. The backwardness of Russia explains the unusual abundance of currents and shades of petty-bourgeois opportunism in our country, whereas the influence of Marxism in Europe and the solidity of the legal Social-Democratic parties prior to the war turned our exemplary liberals into near-admirers of the "sensible," "European" ("non-revolutionary") "Marxist" theory and Social-Democracy. The working class of Russia could build up its party in no other way than by resolutely fighting for thirty years against all varieties of opportunism. The experience of the World War which has brought about the ignominious collapse of European opportunism, and which sealed the alliance of our national liberals with social-chauvinist Liquidationism, confirms us in our conviction that our party must in the future follow the same straight revolutionary road.

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* *Sovremenny Mir*, No. 5, 1915, p. 148. Trotsky has recently declared that he thinks it his task to raise the authority of Chkheidze's fraction in the International.[158] Chkhenkeli undoubtedly will just as energetically raise the authority of Trotsky in the International.

ARTICLES, SPEECHES, RESOLUTIONS, ETC., FROM AUGUST TO DECEMBER, 1915

THE "PEACE" SLOGAN APPRAISED

THE Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung* [*Worker's Gazette*], central organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, in its issue of June 27, 1915, questions a very instructive declaration contained in the governmental *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* [*North German General Gazette*].

The declaration deals with the article of one of the best known (and most sordid) opportunists of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, Quarck, who among other things said:

> We German Social-Democrats and our Austrian comrades have repeatedly declared that we are ready to make contacts with the English and French Social-Democrats for the purpose of opening peace negotiations. *The German imperial government is apprised of this, and has not placed the slightest obstacle in our way.*[159]

The *National-liberale Korrespondenz* [*National-Liberal Correspondence*], a German national-liberal paper, wrote concerning the latter words, that they allow a double interpretation. The first is that the government puts no obstacles in the way of "international political actions" of the Social-Democrats, in so far as they do not exceed the limits of lawfulness and "are not dangerous to the state." This, the paper says, is perfectly intelligible from the point of view of "political freedom."

The other interpretation is that the German government "at least tacitly approves of the Social-Democratic international peace propaganda, and that it even considers it a fitting means for the creation of the initial basis for negotiating peace possibilities."

This latter interpretation the national-liberal paper naturally considers inconceivable, and the governmental paper officially supports it, declaring, besides, that "the government has nothing to do with the international peace propaganda, and that it has not authorised either Social-Democratic or any other intermediaries."

An edifying comedy, isn't it? Will anybody believe that the government of Germany, which has forbidden the *Vorwärts* to write about the class struggle, which has introduced harsh military laws against popular meetings and a veritable "military slavery of the proletariat,"—that this government "puts no obstacles" in the way of Messrs. Quarck and Südekum out of sheer liberalism or that it is not in constant communication with those gentlemen? Is it not a thousand times more likely that Quarck *inadvertently* told the truth (namely, that the peace propaganda was started by the German Social-Democrats when they had reached a direct or indirect agreement with their government), and that he was "officially refuted" only for the purpose of concealing the truth?

This is a lesson for those phrase-lovers who, like Trotsky (see No. 105 of the *Nashe Slovo*), defend, in opposition to us, the peace slogan alleging among other things that "all the Left Wingers" have united for the purpose of "action" under this very slogan! The government of the Junkers has now demonstrated the correctness of our Berne resolution (*Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 40) * which said that peace propaganda "not accompanied by a call to revolutionary mass actions" is only capable of "spreading illusions" and of making the proletariat "a plaything in the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries."

This has been proved, word for word!

Diplomatic history will prove in a few years that *there was* a direct or indirect agreement between the opportunists and the governments concerning peace prattle, and *not in Germany alone!* Diplomacy conceals such things, but murder will out!

When the Left began to unite under the slogan of peace, it deserved encouragement, *provided* it was the *first step* on the way to a protest against the chauvinists, in the same fashion as the Russian worker in the Gaponade ** expressed his first timid protest against the Tsar. But in so far as the Lefts even now confine themselves to this *slogan* alone (slogans are the business of *conscious* political leaders), they are bad Lefts, since there isn't a grain of "action" in their resolutions, and since they are a plaything in the hands of the Südekums, Sembats, Hyndmans, Joffres, and Hindenburgs.

He who fails to understand this even now when the peace slogan ("not accompanied by an appeal to revolutionary actions of the masses") has been prostituted by the Vienna Conference of Bernstein, Kautsky and Co. with the Scheidemanns (the German *Vorstand*, their Central Committee) is an unconscious participant in the social-chauvinist humbugging of the people.

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* See p. 149.—*Ed.*

** The peaceful and loyal demonstration of St. Petersburg workers in front of the Tsar's Winter Palace on January 22, 1905, which was organised by the priest Gapon through the workers' organisations formed under the ægis of the government to counteract the revolutionary movement. The demonstration, which ended in the killing of several hundred participants, is known in the annals of Russian revolutionary history as "Bloody Sunday" and was the starting point of the Revolution of 1905.—*Ed.*

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THE PEACE QUESTION

THE question of peace as a programme most agitating the Socialists, as well as the question of peace conditions connected with the former, interests every one. One can only be grateful to the paper, the *Berner Tagwacht,* for attempts made in it to approach that question, not from the usual petty-bourgeois national, but from a real proletarian international point of view. The editorial remark in No. 73 ("*Friedenssehnsucht*") [160] to the effect that the German Social-Democrats who wish for peace must break ("*sich lossagen*") with the politics of the Junker government, was excellent. Excellent was also Comrade A. P.'s attack (Nos. 73 and 75) [161] on the "pompous airs of powerless phrase-mongers" ("*Wichtigtuerei machtloser Schönredner*") who are attempting in vain to solve the peace question from the petty-bourgeois point of view.

Let us see how this question must be approached by Socialists.

The peace slogan can be advanced either in connection with definite peace conditions, or without any conditions at all, as a desire, not for a definite peace, but for peace in general (*Frieden ohne weiteres*). It is obvious that in the latter case we have a slogan that is not only not Socialist, but that is entirely devoid of meaning and sense. Absolutely everybody is in favour of peace in general, including Kitchener, Joffre, Hindenburg, and Nicholas the Bloody, for *every one* of them wishes to end the war. The trouble is that every one of them advances imperialist (*i. e.*, predatory in relation to other peoples), oppressive peace conditions for the benefit of "his" nation. Slogans must be advanced in order to make clear to the masses, by means of propaganda and agitation, the irreconcilable difference between Socialism and capitalism (imperialism); they must *not* be advanced in order to *reconcile* two hostile classes and two hostile political lines by means of a little word which "unites" the most divergent things.

The further question is: Can one unite the Socialists of the various countries on certain *conditions* of peace? If so, those conditions must undoubtedly include the recognition of the right of self-determination for all nations; also, renunciation of all "annexations," *i. e.*, violations of that right. If, however, this right is recognised only as far as *some* nations are concerned, then you defend the privileges of certain nations, *i. e.*, you are a nationalist and imperialist, not a Socialist. If, on the other hand, this right is recognised for *all* nations, then you cannot single out Belgium alone, for instance; you must take *all* oppressed peoples, both in Europe (the Irish in Britain, the Italians in Nice, the Danes in Germany, fifty-seven per cent of Russia's population, etc.) *and outside of Europe, i. e.*, the colonies. Comrade A. P. did well to remind us of them. England, France, and Germany have a total population of some one hundred and fifty millions, whereas the populations they oppress in the colonies amount to over four hundred millions!! The essence of the imperialist war, *i. e.*, the war waged for the interests of the capitalists, consists not only in the fact that the war is waged with the aim of oppressing new nations, of dividing the colonies, but also in the fact that the war is waged primarily by the foremost nations which *oppress* a number of other peoples, forming the *majority* of the earth's population.

The German Social-Democrats who justify the seizure of Belgium or reconcile themselves to it are, in reality, not Social-Democrats, but imperialists and nationalists, since they defend the "right" of the German bourgeoisie (partly also of the German workers) to oppress the Belgians, the Alsatians, the Danes, the Poles, the Negroes in Africa, etc. They are not Socialists, but *satellites* of the German bourgeoisie aiding it to rob foreign nations. The Belgian Socialists who demand the liberation and indemnification of Belgium *alone* are also in reality defending a demand of the Belgian bourgeoisie, which is out to plunder the 15,000,000 Congo population as it did before, and to obtain concessions and privileges in other countries. The Belgian bourgeoisie have invested abroad something like three billion francs. To safeguard the profits from those billions by means of all sorts of fraud and tricky machinations—this is the *real* "national" interest of "gallant Belgium." The same applies in a still greater degree to Russia, England, France, Japan.

It follows that if the demand for the freedom of nations be not a lying phrase covering up the imperialism and nationalism of *some individual* countries, it must be extended to *all* peoples and to *all* colonies. Such demand, however, is obviously meaningless if not accompanied by a series of revolutions in *all* the advanced countries.

Moreover, it cannot be realised without a successful *Socialist* revolution.

In the face of such conditions, can the Socialists remain indifferent to the peace demand that is gaining ground among ever greater masses? By no means. For the slogans of the class-conscious vanguard of the workers (revolutionary Social-Democracy) are one thing, and the elemental demands of the masses quite another. The yearning for peace is one of the most important *symptoms* of an incipient *disappointment* in the bourgeois lie concerning the war for "liberation," concerning the "defence of the fatherland," and similar lies by which the class of capitalists beguiles the mob. This symptom must attract the closest attention of the Socialist. All efforts must be directed towards *utilising* the sentiment of the masses in favour of peace. But how shall it be utilised? To accept the peace slogan *per se*, and to repeat it, would be encouraging the "pompous air of powerless [what is worse: hypocritical] phrasemongers"; that would mean deceiving the people with the illusion that the present governments, the present ruling classes, are capable, before they are "taught" a lesson (or rather eliminated) by a number of revolutions, of granting a peace even half way satisfactory to democracy and the working class. Nothing is more harmful than such a deception. Nothing throws more dust into the eyes of the workers, nothing imbues them with a more deceptive idea about the absence of deep contradictions between capitalism and Socialism, nothing embellishes capitalist slavery more than this deception. No, we must utilise the sentiment in favour of peace to explain to the masses that the benefits they expect from peace cannot be obtained without a number of revolutions.

The end of wars, peace among peoples, cessation of pillaging and violations are our ideal, to be sure, but only bourgeois sophists can seduce the masses with this ideal, while separating it from a direct and immediate preaching of revolutionary action. The soil is ripe for such preaching; to practice it one must only break away from the opportunists, the allies of the bourgeoisie, who directly (not stopping before informing the authorities) and indirectly hamper revolutionary work.

The self-determination of nations slogan must also be connected with the imperialist era of capitalism. We are not for the *status quo,* not for the philistine Utopia of shrinking away from great wars. We are in favour of a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, *i. e.*, capitalism. Imperialism consists of the striving of nations oppressing a number of other nations to widen and strengthen that oppression, to redistribute the colonies. This is why the question of self-determination of nations pivots, in our times, on the conduct of the Socialists of the *oppressing* nations. A Socialist of any of the oppressing nations (England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, the United States of America, etc.) who does not recognise and does not struggle for the right of oppressed nations to self-determination (*i. e.*, to the freedom of separation) is, in reality, not a Socialist but a chauvinist.

Only this point of view furnishes the basis for a non-hypocritical and consistent struggle against imperialism, for the proletarian and not the philistine approach to the national question of our times. Only this point of view furnishes the principle for a consistent struggle against every kind of oppression of nations; it eliminates mistrust among the proletarians of the oppressing and oppressed nations; it leads to a united international struggle for a Socialist revolution (*i. e.*, for the only realisable régime of full national equality) and not to the philistine Utopia of freedom for all small states in general under capitalism.

It is this point of view that is assumed by our party, *i. e.*, by those Social-Democrats of Russia who rally around the Central Committee. It is this point of view that was assumed by Marx when he taught the proletariat that "no people can be free that oppresses other peoples." It is from this point of view that Marx demanded the separation of Ireland from England, having in mind the interests of the movement for freedom, not only of the Irish, but particularly of the *English* workers.

If the Socialists of England do not recognise and fight for the right of separation for Ireland, the French for the Italian Nice, the Germans for Alsace-Lorraine, the Danish Schleswig, and for Poland, the Russians for Poland, Finland, the Ukraine, etc., the Poles for the Ukraine, if all the Socialists of the "great" powers, *i. e.*, the powers that perpetrate great robberies, do not defend this right as far as the colonies are concerned, it is solely because in fact they are imperialists, not Socialists. It is ridiculous to cherish illusions that people who do not fight for "the right of self-determination" for the oppressed nations, while they themselves belong to the oppressing nations, are capable of practising Socialist politics.

Instead of leaving it to the hypocritical phrase-mongers to deceive the people by phrases and promises concerning a possible democratic peace, the Socialists must explain to the masses the impossibility of a more or less democratic peace outside of a number of revolutions and revolutionary struggle in every country against their respective governments. Instead of allowing the bourgeois politicians to fool the peoples by phrases relative to the freedom of nations, the Socialists must explain to the masses of the *oppressing* nations the hopelessness of their liberation, while they aid the oppression of other nations, while they do not recognise and fight for the right of those nations to self-determination, *i. e.*, freedom of separation. Here is a Socialist, not an imperialist line of politics common to all countries as regards the question of peace and the national question. This line, of course, is in most cases incompatible with the laws provided against high treason, but neither is there a compatibility between those laws and the Basle resolution so shamefully betrayed by almost all the Socialists of the oppressing nations.

Here is a choice: for Socialism or for submitting to the laws of Messrs. Joffre and Hindenburg, for a revolutionary struggle or for servility to the bourgeoisie. There is no middle course. The greatest harm is caused the proletariat by the hypocritical (or stupid) authors of "middle course" politics.

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THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE SLOGAN

No. 40 of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* carried the information that the conference of the sections of our party situated abroad had decided to postpone the question of the "United States of Europe" slogan pending a press discussion of the *economic* side of the question.*

The debate on this question at our conference assumed a one-sided political character. This was partly due to the fact that the manifesto of the Central Committee directly formulated this slogan as a political one ("the nearest *political* slogan," etc.). The document emphasised not only a republican United States of Europe, but it especially mentioned that "without a revolutionary overthrow of the German, Austrian, and Russian monarchies" this slogan is senseless and false.

To argue against such an approach to the question while remaining entirely in the field of political analysis, for instance, to argue that this slogan obstructs or weakens the slogan of a Socialist revolution, is entirely erroneous. Political changes of a truly democratic nature, especially political revolutions, can in no case and under no circumstances either obstruct or weaken the slogan of a Socialist revolution. On the contrary, they always make it nearer, they widen the basis for it, they draw into the Socialist struggle ever new strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletarian masses. On the other hand, political revolutions are inevitable in the course of a Socialist revolution, which must not be looked upon as one single act, but must be considered as an epoch, a number of stormy political and economic upheavals, a most sharpened class struggle, civil war, revolutions and counter-revolutions.

But if the United States of Europe slogan, conceived in connection with a revolutionary overthrow of the three most reactionary monarchies of Europe, headed by Russia, is entirely impregnable as a political slogan, there still remains the most important question of its economic content and meaning. From the point of view of the economic conditions of imperialism, *i. e.*, capital export and division of the world between the "progressive" and "civilised" colonial powers, the United States of Europe under capitalism is either impossible or reactionary.

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* See p. 145.—*Ed.*

Capital has become international and monopolistic. The world has been divided among a handful of great powers, *i. e.*, powers successful in great plunder and in oppression of nations. The four great powers of Europe, England, France, Russia, and Germany, with a population of 250 to 300,000,000, with an area of about 7,000,000 square kilometres, possess colonies numbering almost *half a billion* (494 to 500,000,000 inhabitants) with an area of 64,600,000 square kilometres, *i. e.*, almost half of the globe's surface (153,000,000 square kilometres, barring the Polar region). Add the three Asiatic states, China, Turkey, and Persia, which are now torn to pieces by the plunderers waging a war for "freedom," namely, Japan, Russia, England, and France. In those three Asiatic states, which may be called semi-colonial (in reality they are nine-tenths colonies), there are 360,000,000 inhabitants, and their area is 14,500,000 square kilometres (almost one and one-half times the area of the whole of Europe).

Further, England, France and Germany have invested abroad no less than 70,000,000,000 rubles. To receive a "lawful" little profit from this pleasant sum, a profit exceeding 3,000,000,000 rubles annually, there are in existence the millionaires' national committees called governments, equipped with armies and navies, "placing" in the colonies and semi-colonies the sons and brothers of "Mr. Billion" in the capacity of viceroys, consuls, ambassadors, all kinds of officers, priests and other leeches.

This is how, in the epoch of the highest capitalist development, the plundering of almost a billion of the earth's population by a handful of great powers is organised. No other organisation is possible under capitalism. To give up colonies, "spheres of influence," export of capital? To think so is to come down to the level of a little minister who preaches to the rich every Sunday about the greatness of Christianity, advising them to give to the poor, if not several billions, at least several hundred rubles yearly.

A United States of Europe under capitalism means an agreement as to the division of colonies. Under capitalism, however, only force is possible as the basis, the principle of division. A billionaire cannot share the "national income" of a capitalist country with any one otherwise than in proportion to the capital invested (with an extra bonus in addition, so that the largest capital may receive more than its due). Capitalism is private property in the means of production, and anarchy of production. To preach a "just" division of income on such a basis is Proudhonism, is thick-headed philistinism. One cannot divide the income otherwise than in proportion to power; and power changes in the course of economic development. Germany, after 1871, grew in power three or four times faster than England and France; Japan, about ten times faster than Russia. To test the real power of a capitalist state, there is, and there can be, no other way than war. War is no contradiction to the foundations of private property—on the contrary, it is a direct and inevitable development of those foundations. Under capitalism, equal economic progress of the individual concerns, or individual states, is impossible. Under capitalism, no other means for periodically re-establishing destroyed equilibrium are possible outside of crises in industry or of war in politics.

Of course, *temporary* agreements between capitalists and powers are possible. In this sense the United States of Europe as the result of an agreement between the *European* capitalists is possible, but what kind of an agreement would that be? An agreement jointly to suppress Socialism in Europe, jointly to guard colonial booty against Japan and America, which feel slighted by the present division of colonies, and which, for the last half century, have grown infinitely faster than backward monarchist Europe, beginning to rot with age. In comparison with the United States of America, Europe as a whole signifies economic stagnation. On the present-day economic basis, *i. e.*, under capitalism, the United States of Europe would mean an organisation of reaction for thwarting the more rapid development of America. The days when the cause of democracy and Socialism was associated with Europe alone have passed forever.

The United States of the World (not of Europe alone) is a state form of national unification and freedom which we connect with Socialism; we think of it as becoming a reality only when the full victory of Communism will have brought about the total disappearance of any state, including its democratic form. As a separate slogan, however, the United States of the World would hardly be a correct one, first, because it coincides with Socialism, second, because it could be erroneously interpreted to mean that the victory of Socialism in one country is impossible; it could also create misconceptions as to the relations of such a country to others.

Unequal economic and political development is an indispensable law of capitalism. It follows that the victory of Socialism is, at the beginning, possible in a few capitalist countries, even in one, taken separately. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organised Socialist production at home, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attracting the oppressed classes of other countries, raising among them revolts against the capitalists, launching, in case of necessity, armed forces against the exploiting classes and their states. The political form of a society in which the proletariat is victorious, in which it has overthrown the bourgeoisie, will be a democratic republic, centralising ever more the forces of the proletariat of a given nation or nations in the struggle against the states that have not yet gone over to Socialism. It is impossible to annihilate classes without a dictatorship of the oppressed class, the proletariat. It is impossible freely to unite the nations in Socialism without a more or less prolonged and stubborn struggle of the Socialist republics against the other states.

It is due to such considerations resulting from repeated debates at the conference of the sections of the R. S.-D. L. P. situated abroad and after, that the editors of the Central Organ came to the conclusion that the United States of Europe slogan is incorrect.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 44, August 23, 1915.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

By the collapse of the International one sometimes understands the plain, formal aspect of the thing, namely, the severance of international relations between the Socialist parties of the belligerent countries, the impossibility of convening either an international conference or the International Socialist Bureau, etc. This point of view has been adopted by some Socialists of the small neutral countries, possibly by a majority of the official parties of those countries, also by the opportunists and their defenders. In the Russian press this position was defended by Mr. V. Kossovsky, with a frankness deserving deep gratitude, in No. 8 of the *Information Bulletin* of the Bund, whose editor did not say a word about disagreeing with the author.[162] There is hope that the defence of nationalism by Mr. Kossovsky, who went as far as defending the German Social-Democrats who voted for military appropriations, will help many a worker finally to realise the bourgeois-nationalist character of the Bund.

For the class-conscious workers, Socialism is a serious conviction and not a comfortable cover to hide petty-bourgeois compromises or a tendency of mere nationalist opposition. By the collapse of the International they understand the glaring disloyalty of the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties to their convictions, to the most solemn declarations made in speeches at the Stuttgart and Basle International Congresses, in the resolutions of these congresses, etc. Not to see this disloyalty is possible only for those *who do not wish* to see it, for whom it is unprofitable. In formulating the question scientifically, *i. e.*, from the point of view of the relations between classes in present-day society, we must say that the majority of the Social-Democratic parties, and first of all the German party, the greatest and most influential in the Second International, have joined their general staffs, their governments, their bourgeoisie, thus taking a stand against the proletariat. This is an event of world-wide historic significance, and it is impossible not to dwell on a many-sided analysis of it. It has long been conceded that wars, with all their horrors and miseries, have this more or less outstanding beneficial result, that they mercilessly reveal, unmask, and destroy much rotten, obsolete, and dead matter in human institutions. The European War of 1914-1915 has undoubtedly begun to yield beneficial results in that it has shown the advanced class of the civilised countries that a hideous, festering abscess has grown within its parties, and that an intolerable putrid stench is issuing from somewhere.

I

Is it a fact that the chief Socialist parties of Europe have become disloyal to all their convictions and tasks? Obviously, this is not readily discussed either by the traitors themselves or by those who realise clearly, or guess hazily, that they will have to be friendly and tolerant with them. However unpleasant this may be to various "authorities" of the Second International or to the friends of their faction among the Russian Social-Democrats, we must face the issues squarely and call things by their proper names; we must tell the workers the truth.

Are there facts enough to show how the Socialist parties looked upon their tasks and their tactics before the war and in anticipation of it? Undoubtedly such facts exist. There is the resolution adopted at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912. Together with the resolutions adopted at the 1912 Chemnitz Congress [168] of the German Social-Democratic Party we reprint it below as a reminder of the "forgotten words" of Socialism. This resolution, summing up the enormous propagandist and agitational literature of all the countries against war, represents the most exact and complete, the most solemn and formal exposition of the Socialist views on war and on tactics in relation to war. One cannot fail to qualify otherwise than as betrayal the very fact that none of the authorities of the International of yesterday and of social-chauvinism of today, neither Hyndman nor Guesde, neither Kautsky nor Plekhanov, dares to remind his readers of that resolution, preferring either to be silent about it, or, like Kautsky, to quote from it excerpts of secondary importance, omitting everything essential. On the one hand, the most "Left" arch-revolutionary resolutions; on the other hand, a shameless forgetfulness and a renunciation of these resolutions—this is one of the most flagrant manifestations of the collapse of the International. At the same time, it is one of the most striking proofs that a belief in the possibility of "ameliorating" Socialism, of "straightening out its line" by means of resolutions alone can at present be cherished only by those whose unexampled naiveté goes hand in hand with a shrewd desire to perpetuate their former hypocrisy.

It seems only yesterday that Hyndman, having turned to the defence of imperialism prior to the war, was looked upon by all "decent" Socialists as an unbalanced crank and that nobody spoke of him otherwise than in a tone of disdain. Now the most eminent Social-Democratic leaders of all the countries have sunk to Hyndman's position, differing among themselves only in shades of opinion and temperament. And it is utterly impossible for us to use a more or less parliamentary language when we judge or characterise the civic courage of persons like the writers of the *Nashe Slovo,* who speak of "Mr." Hyndman in tones of contempt, while "Comrade" Kautsky is treated with deference (obsequiousness?) whether he is mentioned directly or not. Is it possible to reconcile such an attitude with respect to Socialism, and generally with respect to a man's convictions? If we are convinced of the falsity and destructiveness of Hyndman's chauvinism, does it not follow that we must direct our criticism and attacks against the *more influential* and more dangerous defender of such views, Kautsky?

Guesde's views have recently been expressed in more detail, perhaps, than elsewhere by a Guesdeist, Charles Dumas, in a pamphlet entitled *La paix que nous voulons.*[164] This "head of Jules Guesde's cabinet," as he calls himself on the title page of the pamphlet, naturally quotes the former declarations of the Socialists in a patriotic spirit (the same is done by David, the German social-chauvinist, in his latest pamphlet on the defence of the fatherland), but he does not quote the Basle Manifesto! Plekhanov, in uttering, with unusual conceit, social-chauvinist vulgarities, also keeps quiet concerning that manifesto. Kautsky acts like Plekhanov: in quoting the Basle Manifesto he *omits* all the revolutionary parts of it (*i. e.,* all its vital content!) probably under the pretext of censorship regulations. . . . The police and the military authorities have forbidden, by censorship regulations, the mention of class-struggle or revolution, and this came in "handy" to the betrayers of Socialism!

But does the Basle Manifesto perchance represent some meaningless appeal? Is it perhaps devoid of any definite content, either historical or political, that would have a direct bearing upon this given war?

The reverse is true. There is less idle declamation, there is more definite content in the Basle resolution than elsewhere. The Basle resolution speaks of the *very same* war which took place later; it speaks of the very same *imperialist* conflicts which broke out in 1914-1915. The conflicts between Austria and Serbia over the Balkans, between Austria and Italy over Albania, etc., between England and Germany over markets and colonies in general, between Russia and Turkey, etc., over Armenia and Constantinople—this is what the Basle resolution speaks of, anticipating this, the present war. It is of this present war between "the great nations of Europe" that the Basle resolution declares that it "*cannot be justified by even the slightest pretext of being in the interest of the people!*" *

And if Plekhanov and Kautsky—to take two of the most typical Socialist authorities close to us (one of whom writes in Russian and the other is translated into Russian by the Liquidators)—are now picking out, with the aid of Axelrod, all sorts of "popular justifications" for the war (or, rather, plebeian ones taken from the yellow press of the bourgeoisie); if, with a learned mien and with a stock of false quotations from Marx, they refer to "examples" of the wars of 1813 and 1870 (Plekhanov) or of 1854-1871, 1876-1877, 1897 (Kautsky), verily, only people without a shadow of Socialist convictions can take such arguments "seriously," can fail to call them monstrous Jesuitism, hypocrisy and prostitution of Socialism! Let the German party administration (*Vorstand*) anathematise Mehring's and Rosa Luxemburg's new magazine, *Die Internationale*, for its just criticism of Kautsky; let Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Hyndman and Co. treat their adversaries in the same manner with the aid of the police of the Triple Entente; we will reply by simply reprinting the Basle Manifesto. This will reveal a change in the leaders for which there can be no other name but treason.

The Basle resolution speaks not of a national war, not of a people's war, the like of which took place in Europe, a war that was even typical for the period of 1789-1871; it does not speak of a *revolutionary war* (which the Social-Democrats never rejected), but of a *present-day* war as an outcome of "capitalist imperialism" and "dynastic" interests, as an outcome of "the policy of conquests" pursued by *both* groups of belligerent nations, the Austro-German and the Anglo-Franco-Russian group. Plekhanov, Kautsky and

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* See Appendices: Documents, II.—*Ed.*

Co. are deceiving the workers outright when they repeat the selfish lie of the bourgeoisie of all countries, which strives with all its power to paint this imperialist, colonial, predatory war as a people's war and a war of defence (on whatever side); they are deceiving the workers when they pick up justifications for this war from the realm of historic examples of *non*-imperialist wars.

The question as to the imperialist, predatory, anti-proletarian character of the present war has long outgrown the stage of pure theoretical reasoning. Not only has imperialism, in its main characteristics, been theoretically appraised as the struggle of the perishing, senile, and rotten bourgeoisie for the division of the world and for the enslavement of the "small" nations; not only have these conclusions been repeated thousands of times in the vast newspaper literature of the Socialists of *all* countries; not only did, for instance, a representative of an "Allied" nation, the Frenchman Delaisi, in the pamphlet *La guerre qui vient* (1911!)[165] explain in a popular fashion the predatory character of the present war as far as the French bourgeoisie was concerned, but more than that happened. The representatives of the proletarian parties of all countries unanimously and formally expressed at Basle their unshakable conviction that a war of an imperialist character would come, and they drew the *tactical* conclusions. It is for this reason that, among other things, we must reject pointblank as obvious sophisms all reference to the fact that the difference between national and international tactics has not been sufficiently discussed (compare Axelrod's last interview in the *Nashe Slovo*, Nos. 87 and 90),[166] and so forth and so on. Such assertions are sophisms because they confuse a many-sided scientific analysis of imperialism, which analysis only now begins and which analysis in its essence is infinite even as science is infinite, with the essentials of Socialist tactics against capitalist imperialism, which tactics have been pointed out in millions of copies of Social-Democratic papers and in the decisions of the International. The Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organisations of the fighting proletariat. When a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, we must call them by name and brand them as traitors, without allowing ourselves to be "captured" by hypocritical assertions to the effect that not all understand imperialism "in the same way," or that the chauvinist Kautsky and the chauvinist Cunow can write volumes about it, or that the question has not been "sufficiently discussed," and many other excuses of the same kind. Capitalism in *all* the manifestations of its plunder, and in all the minutest ramifications of its historical development and its national peculiarities, will *never* be completely and *exhaustively* studied. Scholars, particularly pedants, will never cease disputing details. To give up Socialist struggle against capitalism "on that account," to give up opposing those who become traitors in this struggle, would be ridiculous, and is not this what Kautsky, Cunow, Axelrod, etc., propose?

It is a fact that after the outbreak of the war nobody even as much as attempted to analyse the Basle resolution or to show its incorrectness!

II

But is it not possible that while sincere Socialists stood for the Basle resolution because they anticipated the emergency of a revolutionary situation from the war, they have been proven wrong by the course of events, because a revolution appears impossible?

It is by means of such sophistry that Cunow (in his pamphlet entitled *Parteizusammenbruch?* [*Collapse of the Party?*] [167] and in a series of articles) attempts to justify his joining the camp of the bourgeoisie. We find similar "arguments" hinted at in the works of all the other social-chauvinists, with Kautsky at their head. The hopes for a revolution proved an illusion, to fight for an illusion is not the task of a Marxist, Cunow reasons. This Struveist does not mention that the "illusions" were shared by all the signatories of the Basle Manifesto; like an eminently noble gentleman, he tries to put the blame on the extreme Left, such as Pannekoek and Radek!

Let us examine the substance of the argument which says that the authors of the Basle Manifesto sincerely anticipated the coming of a revolution, that events, however, proved their error. The Basle Manifesto says: (1) that the war creates an economic and political crisis; (2) that the workers will look upon their participation in war as upon a crime, a criminal "firing at each other for the profits of capitalists, the ambitions of dynasties, the greater glory of secret diplomatic treaties," that the war calls forth among the workers "indignation and revolt"; (3) that the Socialists are obliged to take advantage of the above crisis and of the workers' state of mind in order "to arouse the people and hasten the downfall of capitalism"; (4) that the governments, all without exception, can start a war only at their own peril; (5) that the governments are afraid of a proletarian revolution; (6) that the governments must "remember" the Paris Commune (*i. e.*, civil war), the 1905 Revolution in Russia, etc.* All these are perfectly clear thoughts; they do not contain a *guarantee* that a revolution will happen; they lay stress on an exact characterisation of the *facts and tendencies*. The man who, after hearing such thoughts and reasonings, declares that the anticipated revolution proved an illusion, shows not a Marxist but a Struveist attitude towards the revolution, an attitude typical of police and renegades.

For a Marxist there is no doubt that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, we know that not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution. What are, generally speaking, the characteristics of a revolutionary situation? We can hardly be mistaken when we indicate the following three outstanding signs: (1) it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their power unchanged; there is a crisis "higher up," taking one form or another; there is a crisis in the policy of the ruling class; as a result, there appears a crack through which the dissatisfaction and the revolt of the oppressed classes burst forth. If a revolution is to take place, it is usually insufficient that "one does not wish way below," but it is necessary that "one is incapable up above" to continue in the old way; (2) the wants and sufferings of the oppressed classes become more acute than usual; (3) in consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses who in "peace time" allow themselves to be robbed without protest, but in stormy times are drawn both by the circumstances of the crises and *by the "higher-ups" themselves* into independent historic action.

Without these objective changes, which are independent not only of the will of separate groups and parties but even of separate classes, a revolution, as a rule, is impossible. The co-existence of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation. This situation existed in 1905 in Russia and in all the periods of revolution in the West, but it also existed in the seventh decade of the last century in Germany; it existed in 1859-1861 and in 1879-1880 in Russia, though there was no revolution in these latter instances. Why? Because a revolution emerges not out of every revolutionary situation, but out of such situations where, to the above-mentioned objective changes, subjective ones are added, namely, the ability of the revolutionary *classes* to carry out revolutionary mass actions *strong* enough to break (or to undermine) the old government, it being the rule that never, not even in a period of crises, does a government "fall" of itself without being "helped to fall."

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* See Appendices: Documents, II.—*Ed.*

This is how the Marxist views a revolution. These views were advanced many, many times, and were recognised as indisputable by all Marxists; for us Russians they were corroborated in a particularly clear fashion by the experience of 1905. What, then, did the Basle Manifesto assume in 1912 in this respect, and what happened in 1914-1915?

It assumed a revolutionary situation which it briefly described as "an economic and political crisis." Has such a situation materialised? Undoubtedly so. The social-chauvinist Lensch, who more directly, more openly and more honestly defends chauvinism than the hypocrites, Cunow, Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co., went as far as to say: "We are now going through a *revolution*" (p. 6 of his pamphlet entitled *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Weltkrieg* [*German Social-Democracy and the World War*], 1915).[168] There is a political crisis at hand; none of the governments is sure of the near future; none is secure against the danger of financial collapse, loss of territory, expulsion from its country (the way the Belgian government was expelled). All governments live on a volcano, all appeal, *of their own accord*, to the initiative and heroism of the masses. The political regime of Europe has all been shaken, and probably nobody will deny that we have entered (and are getting ever deeper into—I write this on the day when Italy has declared war) an era of the greatest political perturbations. When on October 2, 1914, two months after the declaration of war, Kautsky wrote in the *Neue Zeit* that "never are governments as strong, never are parties as weak as at the beginning of a war," it was a sample of those falsifications of the science of history which Kautsky undertakes in order to please Südekum and the other chauvinists. Never are governments so much in need of peace among all the parties of the ruling classes, and of a "peaceful" submission to this rule by the oppressed classes, as in time of war. On the other hand, assuming even that, "at the beginning of the war," the government *appears* to be all-powerful, particularly in a country that expects a speedy victory,—who ever said that a revolutionary situation must necessarily coincide with the "beginning" of the war?

And who ever said that the *appearance* of strength coincides with *actual* strength?

Everybody knew, saw and recognised that a European war would be of unparalleled gravity. The experience of the war proves this more and more. The war widens. The political mainstays of Europe are shaking more and more. The sufferings of the masses are terrible, and the efforts of the governments, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to hush up those sufferings are suffering ever more frequent defeats. The war profits of certain groups of capitalists are monstrously, scandalously large. The sharpening of conflicting forces is tremendous. The inarticulate indignation of the masses, the hazy yearning of the downtrodden and unenlightened strata of society for a nice ("democratic") peace, the beginning of of rumblings "down below"—all these are facts. The longer the war is drawn out, and the more acute it becomes, the more the governments themselves develop, and must develop, the initiative of the masses, urging them, as they do, to abnormal strain and sacrifices. The experiences of the war, as the experiences of every crisis in history, of every great calamity and every sudden turn in human life, dull and break one set of people, *while they enlighten and harden others.* And taking the history of the world as a whole, it has been proven that, barring individual cases of decadence and fall of a state, the number and the strength of the latter has been, generally, greater than that of the former.

The conclusion of peace will not only fail to terminate all these sufferings and all this sharpening of conflicting forces "immediately"; on the contrary, in many respects it will make the sufferings more keenly felt and more clearly understood by the most backward masses of the population.

In a word, a revolutionary situation in a majority of the advanced countries and the great nations of Europe is there. In this respect, the anticipations of the Basle Manifesto have been fully vindicated. To deny this truth directly or indirectly, or to pass over it in silence, as do Cunow, Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co., is to be telling the greatest untruth, to deceive the working class, and to be servile to the bourgeoisie. We have quoted facts (in the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, Nos. 34, 40, 41) proving that people who are afraid of the revolution—petty-bourgeois Christian priests, general staffs, newspapers of millionaires—are compelled to recognise the symptoms of a revolutionary situation in Europe.

Will this situation continue for a long while? How far more acute will it become? Will it lead to revolution? We do not know, and nobody can know that. Only the *experience* of the development of revolutionary sentiments and the beginning of revolutionary actions on the part of the advanced class, the proletariat, will show that. One cannot speak in this connection either of "illusions" or of their repudiation, since no Socialist anywhere ever undertook to guarantee that the revolution would emerge from this and not from the following war, from to-day's and not from to-morrow's revolutionary situation. The question at issue is the most undisputed and most fundamental duty of all Socialists: the duty to reveal to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, to make clear its scope and depth, to awaken the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary determination of the proletariat, to help it to pass to revolutionary actions, and to create organisations befitting the revolutionary situation for work in this direction.

No influential or responsible Socialist ever dared doubt this duty of Socialist parties. Just this was imposed on the Socialists by the Basle Manifesto without spreading or cherishing the least "illusions": the duty to awaken, to "stir" the people, and not to lull it to sleep by chauvinism, as do Plekhanov, Axelrod and Kautsky; to "take advantage" of the crisis for "*hastening*" the collapse of capitalism; to be guided by the *examples* of the Commune and of October-December, 1905. The fact that the present parties failed to do their duty is their betrayal, their political death, their repudiation of their role, their joining the side of the bourgeoisie.

III

But how was it *possible* that the most eminent representatives and leaders of the Second International betrayed Socialism? We shall dwell on this question later, after we have examined the attempts at "theoretically" justifying this betrayal. Let us try first to characterise the main theories of the social-chauvinists, who, we may fairly say, are represented by Plekhanov (he reiterates in most cases the arguments of the Anglo-French chauvinists, Hyndman and his new adherents) and by Kautsky, who advances much more subtle arguments that have the appearance of considerably greater theoretical solidity.

The most primitive theory seems to be the one that points at an "offender" state. "We have been attacked," it says, "we defend ourselves; the interests of the proletariat demand resistance to the disturber of European peace." This tune is repeated in the declarations of all the governments and in the declamations of all the bourgeois and yellow press the world over. Even this threadbare vulgarity Plekhanov has managed to embellish by a Jesuit reference to "dialectics" so habitual with this writer; he asserts that in order to take stock of a given situation, we must first of all find the offender and give him his due, postponing all other questions for another occasion (see Plekhanov's pamphlet *On the War*, *Paris*, 1914, and the repetition of its arguments by Axelrod in *Golos*, Nos. 86 and 87). Plekhanov has beaten the record in the noble sport of substituting sophistry for dialectics. The sophist picks one out of many "arguments," and it is Hegel who long ago correctly noticed that it is possible to find "arguments" for everything in the world. The dialectic method demands a many-sided investigation of a given social phenomenon in its development; it demands that we proceed from the exterior, from the apparent, to the fundamental moving forces, to the development of productive forces and to the class struggle. Plekhanov picks out one quotation from the German Social-Democratic press: the Germans themselves, prior to the war, he says, recognised that Austria and Germany were the "offenders," and that is enough for him; that the Russian Socialists repeatedly exposed tsarist plans of conquest in relation to Galicia, Armenia, etc., Plekhanov does not mention. He does not make the slightest attempt to study the economic and diplomatic history, at least of the last three decades, which history proves conclusively that it was the conquest of colonies, the grabbing of foreign countries, the expulsion and ruining of the more successful competitors that were the main axes of the politics of both groups of the now belligerent nations.*

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* Very instructive is *The War of Steel and Gold* [London, 1914, a book bearing the date of March, 1914!],[169] by the English pacifist Brailsford, who is not averse to parading as a Socialist. The author clearly recognises that the problems of nationality no longer occupy the forefront, that they have been solved [p. 35]; that this is not the issue at present, that "the typical question of modern diplomacy [p. 36] is the Bagdad railroad, the delivery of rails for it, the mines of Morocco and the like." The author rightly considers one of the "most instructive incidents in the recent history of European diplomacy" the fact that the French patriots and the English imperialists fought against the attempts of Caillaux, in 1911 and 1913, to make peace with Germany on the basis of an agreement concerning the division of colonial spheres of influence and the admittance of German securities to the Paris

Applied to wars, the main thesis of dialectics so shamelessly distorted by Plekhanov to please the bourgeoisie consists in this, that "*war is nothing but a continuation of political relations by other* [*i. e., forcible*] *means.*" This formula belongs to Clausewitz,* one of the greatest writers on the history of war, whose ideas were fertilised by Hegel. And this was always the standpoint of Marx and Engels, who looked upon *every* war as a continuation of the politics of given interested nations—and *various classes* inside of them—at a given time.

The theoretical foundation of Plekhanov's crass chauvinism becomes that of the more subtle and sugary chauvinism of Kautsky, when the latter, in sanctifying the shifting of the Socialists of all countries to the side of "their" capitalists, uses the following arguments:

Everybody has a right and a duty to defend his fatherland; true internationalism consists in recognising this right for the Socialists

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Bourse. The *English* and the *French* bourgeoisie, he says, *frustrated* such an agreement (pp. 38-40). The aim of imperialism, he asserts, is the export of capital to the weaker countries [p. 74]. The profit from such capital amounted in England in 1899 to £90-100,000,000 sterling (Giffen); in 1909, to £140,000,000 sterling, almost 2,000,000,000 rubles. Foul machinations and bribing the Turkish nobility, posts for favourite sons in India and Egypt, these are the main things, in Brailsford's opinion [pp. 85-87]. An insignificant minority gains from armaments and wars, he says, but this minority is backed by "Society" and by the financiers, whereas behind the adherents of peace there is a scattered population [p. 93]. A pacifist who at present talks of disarmament and arbitration will to-morrow work for a party which is dependent on the war contractors [p. 161]. When the Triple Entente is dominant, it seizes Morocco and divides Persia; when the Triple Alliance recovers its lead, it takes Tripoli, assures its hold in Bosnia, and penetrates Asiatic Turkey [p. 167]. London and Paris gave billions to Russia in March, 1906, helping tsarism to crush the movement for freedom [pp. 225-228]; now England helps Russia to throttle Persia [p. 229]. Russia has arranged the Balkan War [p. 230].

All this is not new, is it? All this is common knowledge, and was repeated in Social-Democratic papers of the whole world. On the eve of the war, a bourgeois Englishman sees all this as clearly as can be. In face of these simple and commonly known facts, what indecent nonsense, what intolerable hypocrisy, what sugary lies are the theories of Plekhanov and Potresov concerning Germany's guilt, or the theory of Kautsky concerning the "prospects of disarmament and lasting peace under capitalism."

* Karl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Works, Berlin, 1834, Vol. I, p. 28. Compare Vol. III, pp. 139-140: "Everybody knows that wars are created only by political relations between governments and peoples; but ordinarily one pictures the situation as if, with the beginning of the war, these relations cease and a new situation is created subject to its own laws. We assert, on the contrary, that war is nothing but a continuation of political relations by other means."

of all nations, including those who are at war with my nation . . . (see *Neue Zeit,* October 2, 1914, and other works by the same author).

This matchless reasoning is such a sordidly flagrant travesty of Socialism that the best answer to it would be to coin a medal with the portraits of Wilhelm II and Nicholas II on one side, of Plekhanov and Kautsky on the other. True internationalism, mind you, consists in justifying the firing at German workers by the French workers, and at the French by the Germans, in the name of "defence of the fatherland"!

However, if we examine more closely the theoretical premises of Kautsky's reasoning, we find an idea ridiculed by Clausewitz about eighty years ago. When war begins, Kautsky seems to think, all political relations between peoples and classes resulting from an historical development cease to exist; a totally new situation is there! There are, he thinks, only attackers and defenders as such, and the "fatherland's foes" must be repelled! The oppression of a great number of nations, which form over half of the globe's population, by the imperialist peoples striving towards national aggrandisement; the competition between the bourgeoisie of these countries for a share of the loot; the desire of the capitalists to split and oppress the labour movement, all this of a sudden has disappeared from the field of vision of Plekhanov and Kautsky, although it was such "politics" that they themselves had been pointing at for decades prior to the war.

False references to Marx and Engels form in this connection the "trump" argument of the two chiefs of social-chauvinism; Plekhanov recalls Prussia's national war of 1813 and Germany's of 1870, while Kautsky proves, with a most learned air, that Marx examined the question as to whose success (*i. e.,* the success of which bourgeoisie) was more desirable in the wars of 1854-1855, 1859, 1870-1871, and that the Marxists did likewise in the wars of 1876-1877 and 1897. It is the method of all the sophists of all times to quote examples obviously relating to basically dissimilar cases. The wars of the past referred to were a "continuation of the politics" of age-long national movements of the bourgeoisie, movements against the oppression of a foreign nation, of an outsider, and against absolutism, Turkish and Russian. There could be no other question at that time than the question as to which bourgeoisie's success was to be preferred. The Marxists were in a position to *make propaganda among the peoples* in favour of such wars, to fan national hatred in the manner in which Marx appealed in favour of the war in 1848 and later in favour of war with Russia, in the manner in which Engels in 1859 fanned the national hatred of the Germans against their oppressors, Napoleon III and Russian tsarism.*

To compare that "continuation of politics" which was a struggle against feudalism and absolutism—the politics of a bourgeoisie in its struggle for liberty—with this "continuation of politics" of a bourgeoisie which has become decrepit, *i. e.*, imperialist, which has plundered the whole world and, being reactionary, forms an alliance with the feudal masters to crush the proletariat, means to compare yards with pounds. It is on a par with comparing the "representatives of the bourgeoisie," Robespierre, Garibaldi, Zhelyabov, with such "representatives of the bourgeoisie" as Millerand, Salandra, Guchkov. One cannot be a Marxist without feeling the deepest respect for the great bourgeois revolutionists who had a world-wide historic right to speak in the name of "bourgeois" fatherlands, who aroused tens of millions of people of new nations to a civilised life in their struggle against feudalism. And one cannot be a Marxist without feeling contempt for the sophistry of Plekhanov and Kautsky who speak of the "defence of the fatherland" in relation to the throttling of Belgium by the German imperialists, or in relation to the pact of the imperialists of England, France, Russia and Italy concerning the plunder of Austria and Turkey.

There is another "Marxist" theory of social-chauvinism: Socialism, it says, is based on a rapid development of capitalism; the victory of "my" country will hasten the development of its capitalism and consequently the arrival of Socialism; a defeat of "my" country will thwart its economic development, and consequently the arrival of

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* Mr. Gardenin in *Zhizn* [*Life*] [170] labels as "revolutionary chauvinism," but none the less as chauvinism, Marx's stand in 1848 for a revolutionary war against the peoples of Europe who in practice had shown themselves to be counter-revolutionary, the Slavs and the Russians in particular. Such blame on Marx proves once more the opportunism (or rather the total lack of earnestness) of this "Left" Socialist-Revolutionist. We Marxists have always stood, and do stand, for a *revolutionary* war against *counter-revolutionary* peoples. For instance, if Socialism were to be victorious in America or in Europe in 1920 while, let us say, Japan or China were advancing *their* Bismarcks against us—even if it were at first only diplomatically—then we certainly would be for an aggressive revolutionary war against them. It seems strange to you, Mr. Gardenin! The trouble is you are a revolutionist of the Ropshin type!

Socialism. Such Struveist theory is being propounded in Russia by Plekhanov, among the Germans by Lensch and others. Kautsky argues against this crude theory, against Lensch who defends it outright, against Cunow who fights for it covertly, but Kautsky's argument only aims to bring about a reconciliation of the social-chauvinists of all countries on the basis of a more subtle, more Jesuit chauvinist theory.

We need not dwell on the analysis of this crude theory. Struve's *Critical Notes* appeared in 1894. During these twenty years the Russian Social-Democrats have become thoroughly familiar with this "manner" of the enlightened Russian bourgeois who advance their ideas and advocate their desires under the cloak of a kind of Marxism which has been *purged* of revolutionary substance. Struveism is not a purely Russian phenomenon; as the recent events prove clearly, there is an international tendency of the bourgeois theoreticians to kill Marxism by "gentleness," to choke it in their embraces, by an apparent acceptance of "all" the "truly scientific" sides and elements of Marxism *except* its "agitational," "demagogic," "Blanqui-like," "Utopian" side. In other words, they take from Marxism all that is acceptable for the liberal bourgeoisie, including the struggle for reforms, including the class struggle (without the proletarian dictatorship), including a "general" recognition of "Socialist ideals" and the substitution of a "new order" for capitalism; they repudiate "only" the living soul of Marxism, "only" its revolutionary content.

Marxism is the theory of the movement of the proletariat for liberation. It is clear, therefore, that the class-conscious workers must pay the utmost attention to the process of substituting Struveism for Marxism. The moving forces of this process are manifold and varied. We shall point out only the main three: (1) The development of science presents more and more material to prove that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically, without warring openly against the foundations of Marxism, apparently recognising it but at the same time castrating its substance by sophistry, transforming Marxism into a holy "ikon" harmless for the bourgeoisie; (2) The development of opportunism among the Social-Democratic parties facilitates such a "recasting" of Marxism, fitting it to justify every kind of concession to opportunism; (3) The epoch of imperialism is an epoch when the world is divided among the "great" privileged nations which oppress all the others. Crumbs of the loot coming from these privileges and this oppression undoubtedly fall on the table of certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, and of the aristocracy and also bureaucracy of the working class. Such strata, being an insignificant minority of the proletariat and the working masses, gravitate towards "Struveism," because it gives them a justification of their alliance with "their" national bourgeoisie against the oppressed masses of *all* nations. We shall have to deal with this below in connection with the question of the causes of the collapse of the International.

IV

The most subtle theory of social-chauvinism most skilfully counterfeited to appear scientific and international is the theory of "ultra-imperialism" advanced by Kautsky. Here is the clearest, most precise and most recent exposition of it made by the author himself:

> The weakening of the protectionist movement in England; the lowering of the tariffs in America; the tendency towards disarmament; the rapid decrease, in the last years before the war, of capital export from France and Germany; finally, the growing mutual international entanglement of the various cliques of finance capital—all this has caused me to weigh in mind whether the present imperialist policy cannot be supplanted by another, an ultra-imperialist one, which would substitute for the mutual struggle of national groups of finance capital a general exploitation of the world by united international finance capital. Such a new phase of capitalism is conceivable, to say the least. Whether it is realisable, we cannot say at present because there is not sufficient data in existence. [*Neue Zeit*, No. 5, April 30, 1915, p. 144.] [171]
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> . . . The course and the outcome of the present war may prove decisive in this respect. It may entirely crush the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism by fanning to the highest degree the national hatreds also among the finance capitalists, by increasing armaments and the race for them, by making a new world war inevitable. Under such conditions, the thing I foresaw and formulated in my pamphlet, *Der Weg zur Macht*, would come true in horrifying proportions; class antagonisms would become sharper and sharper and with it would come the moral decadence [verbatim: "the refusal to function," *Abwirtschaftung*, collapse] of capitalism. . . . [It must be noted that by this fancy word Kautsky understands simply the "hatred" of capitalism on the part of the intermediary strata between the proletariat and finance capital: namely, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeois, even petty capitalists.] But [says Kautsky] the war may end otherwise. It may lead to the strengthening of the weak beginnings of ultra-imperialism. . . . Its lesson [attention, please!] may hasten developments which would take a long time under peace conditions. Should it come to an agreement between nations, to disarmament, to a lasting peace, then the worst of the causes that led to a growing moral decadence of capitalism before the war, may disappear.

The new phase will, of course, bring "new sufferings" to the proletariat, Kautsky says, "perhaps worse sufferings than before," but "for a time," he says, "ultra-imperialism may be in a position to create an era of new hopes and expectations within the framework of capitalism" [p. 145].

How does the justification of social-chauvinism follow from this "theory"?

It follows in a manner that is very strange for a "theoretician." The Left Wing Social-Democrats in Germany assert that imperialism, and the wars generated by imperialism, are not an accident but an inevitable product of capitalism, which brought about the domination of finance-capital. Therefore, they say, a revolutionary struggle of the masses is on the order of the day, since the period of comparatively peaceful development has ended. The Right Wing Social-Democrats blunty declare: Once imperialism is "necessary," we also must be imperialists. Now Kautsky in the role of the "centre" tries to reconcile them both:

> Against the imperialism that is inevitable [he writes in his pamphlet, *Nationalstaat, imperialistischer Staat und Staatenbund* (*National State, Imperialist State, and the League of States*), Nuremburg, 1915],[172] the extreme Left wishes to "promote" Socialism, *i. e.*, not only the propaganda of Socialism which we, for half a century, have been practicing in opposition to all forms of capitalist domination, but the immediate introduction of Socialism. This seems very radical, but it is only capable of driving *every one* who *does not believe* in the immediate practical realisation of Socialism into the camp of imperialism. [P. 17. Italics ours.]

When Kautsky speaks of the immediate introduction of Socialism, he "perpetrates" a sleight of hand; he takes advantage of the fact that one is debarred from speaking of revolutionary action in Germany, particularly under military censorship. Kautsky knows very well that what the Left Wing demands is immediate propaganda in favour of, and preparations for revolutionary action on the part of the party, not at all an "immediate practical realisation of Socialism."

The Left Wing deduces the necessity of revolutionary action from the fact that imperialism cannot be avoided. The "theory of ultra-imperialism," on the other hand, serves Kautsky *to justify the opportunists*, to present the situation in such a light as if they did not join the bourgeoisie but simply "did not believe" in introducing Socialism immediately, because they expected a "new era" of disarmament and lasting peace. The "theory" reduces itself to this and *only* to this, that Kautsky utilises the *hope* for a new peaceful era of capitalism to justify the opportunists and the official Social-

Democratic parties who joined the bourgeoisie and repudiated revolutionary, *i. e.*, proletarian, tactics during the *present stormy era*, the solemn declarations of the Basle resolution notwithstanding!

Note that while doing so, Kautsky not only fails to state that this new phase will of necessity follow from such and such circumstances and conditions, but, on the contrary, he openly declares: "I cannot even decide as yet whether this new phase can at all be realised." Look what "tendencies" leading towards the new era have been indicated by Kautsky. Is it not amazing that among the economic factors making for the new era Kautsky finds also the "tendency towards disarmament"! He is simply running away from undisputed facts that cannot be made to fit the theory of diminishing contradictions; he is simply hiding under the shadow of innocent philistine conversations and dreams. Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism" —this word, by the way, does not at all express what the author wants to say—is understood to be a tremendous *lessening* of the contradictions of capitalism. Kautsky speaks of the "weakening of protectionism in England and America." But is there any sign here of a tendency towards a new era? American protectionism, having reached the very limit, is now less rampant, but protectionism remains, nevertheless, so do the privileges, the preferential tariffs of the English colonies in favour of England. Let us remember what caused the change from the former "peaceful" period of capitalism to the present imperialist era: free competition was replaced by monopoly combinations of capitalists; the globe was divided up. It is obvious that both these facts (and factors) have really world-wide significance: free trade and peaceful competition were possible and necessary as long as capital was in a position to increase its colonies without hindrance and to seize unoccupied land in Africa, etc., while concentration of capital was still slight and no monopoly undertakings existed, *i. e.*, undertakings of such magnitude as to dominate a *whole* branch of industry. The appearance and growth of such monopoly undertakings (has this process, perchance, been checked in England or in America? Not even Kautsky will dare to deny that the war has hastened and sharpened it) make old-time free competition impossible. It takes the ground from under its feet, while the division of the globe *compels* the capitalists to pass from peaceful expansion to armed struggle for the redivision of colonies and spheres of influence. It is ridiculous to think that the weakening of protectionism in two countries can change anything in this respect.

Another fact is referred to: the decrease in capital export from *two* countries for a number of years. According to Harms' statistics for 1912, the capital invested abroad by the two countries under consideration, *viz.*, France and Germany, amounted to 35,000,000,000 marks (about 17,000,000,000 rubles) each, while England alone had double the amount.* The export of capital never did and never could grow on the same scale everywhere under capitalism. Nobody, not even Kautsky, can say that the accumulation of capital has slackened or that the capacity of the home market to absorb commodities has undergone a vital change, say, through a marked improvement in the living standards of the masses. Under such conditions it is utterly impossible to deduce the coming of a new era from a decrease in the capital exports of two countries for several years.

"The growing international interlocking of the cliques of finance capital," this is the only general tendency that is actually in evidence for the last few years; and it relates not only to a few years or to a few countries but to the whole world, to the whole of capitalism. But why must this tendency lead to disarmament, and not to armaments, as hitherto? Let us look at any one of the world-famous producers of cannon (and of war materials in general), for instance, Armstrong. The English *Economist* recently (May 15, 1915) published figures showing that the profits of this firm rose from £606,000 sterling (about 6,000,000 rubles) in 1905-1906, to £856,000 in 1913, and £940,000 (*9,000,000 rubles*) in 1914. The interlinking of finance capital is here very pronounced and it keeps growing: German capitalists are "participating" in the affairs of English firms; English firms are constructing submarines for Austria, etc. Capital, internationally interlocked, does splendid business in armaments and wars. To deduce any economic tendency towards disarmament from the combining and interlocking of various national capitals into one international whole, means to offer kindhearted philistine prayers that class antagonism should become dulled where class antagonisms are actually becoming sharpened.

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* See Bernhard Harms, *Probleme der Weltwirtschaft* [*Problems of World Economy*], Jena, 1912; George Paish, "Great Britain's Capital Investments in Colonies" in *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXXV, 1910-11, p. 167. Lloyd George, in a speech early in 1915, estimated English capital abroad as amounting to £4,000,000,000 sterling, *i. e.*, about 80,000,000,000 marks.

V

Kautsky speaks of the "lessons" of the war in a spirit that is entirely philistine. He makes these lessons appear as a kind of moral horror before the miseries of the war. This is, for instance. how he argues in the pamphlet entitled *Nationalstaat,* etc.:

> It is beyond doubt and it is not necessary to prove that there are strata of the population having the most urgent interest in universal peace and disarmament. Petty bourgeois and petty peasants, even many capitalists and intellectuals, have no interest in imperialism stronger than the damage caused to these strata by war and armaments [p. 21].

This was written in February, 1915! At a time when there was a veritable rush of all propertied classes, including petty bourgeois and the "intelligentsia," to join the imperialists, Kautsky, as if secluded from the rest of the world, with unusual self-sufficiency uses sugary phrases to repudiate facts. He judges the interests of the petty bourgeoisie not by its *actions* but by the *words* of some of its members, though these words are at every step given the lie by actions. It is the same as if we were to judge the "interests" of the bourgeoisie in general not by actions but by the mellifluous words of the bourgeois priests who solemnly swear that the present system is saturated with Christian ideals. Kautsky applies Marxism in such a fashion that all its content evaporates. What remains is a little word "interest" with some sort of a supernatural, spiritualist meaning, attention being turned not towards economic realities, but towards the innocent desires for general welfare.

Marxism judges "interests" by class antagonisms and class struggle manifested in millions of facts in everyday life. The petty bourgeoisie dreams and prattles of mitigating antagonisms, "arguing" that their sharpening has "harmful" consequences. Imperialism is the subjugation of all strata of the propertied classes to finance capital and the division of the world among five or six "great" nations, the majority of whom are now participating in the war. The division of the world by the great nations means that all their propertied classes are *interested* in possessing colonies and spheres of influence, in oppressing foreign nations, in more or less lucrative posts and privileges connected with belonging to a "great" and oppressing nation.*

It is *impossible* to live in the old fashion, in comparatively calm, cultured, peaceful surroundings of a capitalism softly gliding on the tracks of evolution, gradually spreading over new countries. It is impossible because a new era has arrived. Finance capital is driving this or that country from the ranks of great nations, and will succeed in doing so; it will take away the colonies and spheres of influence of the vanquished nation, as Germany threatens to do if it wins the war against England. It will take away from the loser's petty bourgeoisie its "great nation" privileges and surplus profits. The war shows this clearly. This is the *outcome* of that sharpening of antagonisms which has long been recognised by all, including Kautsky in his pamphlet *Der Weg zur Macht.*

Now that the armed conflict for the privileges of a great nation is a fact, Kautsky begins to *persuade* the capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie that war is a terrible thing while disarmament is a good thing; he does it in the same manner and with exactly the same results as a Christian preacher who from the pulpit persuades the capitalist that love is God's commandment as well as a tendency of the soul and a moral law of civilisation. The thing called by Kautsky economic tendencies towards "ultra-imperialism" is in reality nothing but a petty-bourgeois exhortation, addressed to the financiers, a humble request that they refrain from evil.

Capital export? But more capital is exported into independent countries, such as the United States of America, than into colonies. Seizure of colonies? But they have all been seized, and nearly all of them strive towards liberation. "India may cease to be an English possession, but as an empire it will never fall under the domi-

* E. Schultze informs us that by 1915 the value of securities in the whole world amounted to 732 billion francs, including state and municipal loans, mortgages and stocks of commercial and manufacturing corporations, etc. In this sum, the share of England was 130 billion francs, of the United States 115, France 100, and Germany 75, *i. e.*, the share of all four great nations was 420 billion francs, more than half of the total. From this we may judge the extent of the advantages and privileges accruing to the leading great nations that have progressed beyond other nations and oppress and plunder them. (Dr. Emil Schultze, "Das französische Kapital in Russland" ["French Capital in Russia"] in *Finanz-Archiv*, Berlin, 1915, Vol. XXXII, p. 127). "Defence of the fatherland" by the great nations is the defence of the right to share in the plunder of foreign countries. In Russia, as is commonly known, capitalist imperialism is weaker, while military-feudal imperialism is stronger.

nation of another foreign power" (p. 49 of the above pamphlet). "Every attempt of any industrial capitalist state to acquire for itself a colonial empire sufficient to make it independent from other countries in the acquisition of raw materials, must unite against it all the other capitalist states, must entangle it in endless exhausting wars without bringing it nearer to its aim. Such a policy would be the surest road towards the bankruptcy of the entire economic life of a state" (pp. 72-73).

Is not this a philistine attempt at persuading the financiers to relinquish imperialism? To frighten the capitalists by the prospect of bankruptcy is the same as to advise the stock exchange brokers against making stock transactions on the ground that "there are many who thus lose their fortunes." There is *gain* for capital in the bankruptcy of a competing capitalist or a competing nation, because in this way capital grows more centralised; the sharper, therefore, and the "closer" the economic competition, *i. e.*, the economic pressure driving the opponent to bankruptcy, the stronger is the tendency of the capitalists to add *military* pressure driving him in the same direction. The fewer the remaining countries into which capital can be exported as advantageously as into colonies or dependent states like Turkey—since in such cases the financier reaps a triple profit compared with capital export into a free, independent and civilised country like the United States of America—the more *obstinate* is the struggle for the subjugation and the division of Turkey, China, etc. This is what economic theory says about the era of finance-capital and imperialism. This is what the facts say. As to Kautsky, he turns everything into a vulgar petty-bourgeois moral preaching: "It is not worth while," he says, "to get excited, less so to wage war for the division of Turkey, or for the seizure of India, since it won't last long anyway." Obviously, it would be better for capitalism if it could develop peacefully. Better still would be to develop capitalism and widen the home market by increasing wages; this is perfectly "feasible" and it is a very fitting topic for a clergyman to preach to the financiers. Good-hearted Kautsky nearly succeeds in persuading the German financiers that it is not worth while to wage war against England for the colonies, since these colonies will soon become free, anyway! . . .

English trade with Egypt between 1872 and 1912 did not keep pace with the growth of English foreign trade in general, and Kautsky the "Marxist" draws the moral: "We have no reason to ssume that without military occupation of Egypt trade would not have grown as much under the simple pressure of economic factors" (p. 72). "The tendency of capitalism to expand can best be realised not by the violent methods of imperialism but by *peaceful democracy*" (p. 70).

What a wonderfully earnest, scientific "Marxian" analysis! Kautsky has magnificently "corrected" old unreasonable history; he has "proved" that there is no need for the English to take away Egypt from the French, that it was not at all worth while for the German financiers to start the war, to organise a Turkish campaign and undertake other things in order to drive the English out of Egypt! All this is a mere misunderstanding—the English have not been wise enough to know that it is "best of all" to give up violent methods in Egypt, to start an era of "peaceful democracy" in order to increase the capital export *according to Kautsky!*

"Of course it was an illusion when the bourgeois free-traders thought that free trade would entirely eliminate the economic antagonisms generated by capitalism. Neither free trade nor democracy can eliminate them. What we are most interested in is that these antagonisms should be lived down in a struggle that assumes such forms as would impose on the labouring masses the least amount of suffering and sacrifices" (p. 73).

Grant, O God! God, have mercy!* "What is a philistine?" Lassalle used to ask, and he answered by quoting a well-known verse: "An empty hose, full of fear and hope for the mercy of God." [173]

Kautsky has degraded Marxism to unheard-of prostitution; he has become a veritable priest. Kautsky the priest *persuades* the capitalists to start an era of peaceful democracy, and this he calls dialectics. If, originally, he says, there was free trade, and then came monopolies and imperialism, why shouldn't there be ultra-imperialism and free trade again? The priest *consoles* the oppressed masses by painting the blessings of this ultra-imperialism, although he does not even undertake to prove that it can be "introduced"! Feuerbach was right when in reply to those who defended religion on the ground that it consoles the people, he pointed out the reactionary meaning of consolation: "Whoever consoles the slave instead of arousing him to revolt against slavery, aids the slaveholder."[174]

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* Lenin imitates a beggar's chant in the streets in the expectation of alms.—*Ed.*

All oppressing classes of every description need two social functions to safeguard their domination: the function of a hangman, and the function of a priest. The hangman is to quell the protest and the rebellion of the oppressed, the priest is to paint before them a perspective of mitigated sufferings and sacrifices under the same class rule (which it is particularly easy to do without guaranteeing the "possibility of their realisation" . . .). Thereby he reconciles them to class domination, weans them away from revolutionary actions, undermines their revolutionary spirit, destroys their revolutionary determination. Kautsky has turned Marxism into the most hideous and bigoted counter-revolutionary theory, into the most filthy clerical mush.

In 1909, in his pamphlet, entitled *Der Weg zur Macht,* he admitted the sharpening of antagonisms within capitalism, the approach of a period of wars and revolutions, of a new revolutionary period—all facts that never were and never can be repudiated. There can be no "premature" revolution, he said; to refuse to count on a possible victorious uprising even though there might also be a prospect of defeat, he declared, was a "direct betrayal of our cause."

Then war came. The antagonisms became *still sharper.* The sufferings of the masses reached gigantic proportions. The war is dragging on. Its area widens. Kautsky writes one pamphlet after the other, meekly submitting to the dictates of the censor; he does not quote the facts of land-grabbing, war horrors, the scandalous profits of war-contractors, the high cost of living, the "military slavery" of the mobilised workers—instead he keeps on consoling the proletariat; he consoles it by the examples of those wars in which the bourgeoisie was revolutionary and progressive, in regard to which Marx himself wished victory to one or the other bourgeoisie; he consoles it by rows and columns of figures which prove that capitalism is "possible" without colonies, and robbery without wars and armaments, and that "peaceful democracy" is preferable. Without daring to deny the sharpening of the sufferings of the masses and the emergence before our very eyes of a revolutionary situation (of this one must not talk, the censor does not permit it . . .), Kautsky, the lackey of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, paints a perspective (whose "possibility of realisation" he does *not guarantee*) of such forms of struggle in a new era when there will be "the least amount of sacrifice and suffering." . . . Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg were right when for these services they called Kautsky a prostitute (*Mädchen für alle*).[175]

In August, 1905, there was a revolutionary situation in Russia. The Tsar had promised to establish the Bulygin Duma to "console" the restless masses. The Bulygin regime of consultative representation could have been called ultra-autocracy in the same way in which the abandoning of armaments by the financiers and their agreeing on a "lasting peace" can be called ultra-imperialism. Let us assume for a moment that to-morrow a hundred of the largest financiers of the world, interlocked as they are in hundreds of colossal undertakings, *promise* the peoples to stand for disarmament after the war (we make this assumption just for a moment in order to draw political conclusions from Kautsky's foolish little theory). Even if that happened, it would be a betrayal of the proletariat to dissuade it from revolutionary actions without which all promises, all fine perspectives are a mere sham.

The war has brought the capitalist class not only gigantic profits and splendid perspectives of new robberies (Turkey, China, etc.), new billion contracts, new loans at an increased rate of interest, but it has brought the class of capitalists still greater political advantages in that it has split and demoralised the proletariat. Kautsky aids this demoralisation; he sanctions this international *split* of the fighting proletariat *in the name of unity* with the opportunists of "their own nation," with the Südekums! And still there are people who do not understand that the unity slogan of the old parties means "unity" of the proletariat with its bourgeoisie within the same nation and a *split* of the proletariat internationally.

VI

The above lines had been written when the *Neue Zeit* of May 28 (No. 9) appeared, with Kautsky's concluding arguments on the "collapse of the Social-Democracy" (paragraph 7 of his critical notes on Cunow).[176] Kautsky summed up all his old sophisms in defence of social-chauvinism and added a new one in the following way:

> It is simply not true that the war is a purely imperialist one, that at the outbreak of the war the alternative was either imperialism or Socialism, that

the Socialist parties and the proletarian masses of Germany, France, and in many respects also of England, obeying the call of a mere handful of parliamentarians, threw themselves into the arms of imperialism, betrayed Socialism and thus caused a collapse unexampled in history.

This is a new sophism and a new deception of the workers: the war, if you please, is not a "purely" imperialist one!

Kautsky is remarkably vacillating as to the character and meaning of the present war; this leader dodges the exact and formal declarations of the Basle and Chemnitz Congresses as carefully as a thief dodges the place of his last theft. In his pamphlet *Nationalstaat*, etc., written in February, 1915, Kautsky asserted that "in the last analysis, the war is an imperialist one" (p. 64). Now a new reservation is introduced: not a *purely* imperialist one—what else then?

It appears that this is a national war as well! Kautsky arrives at this monstrous conclusion by means of the following somewhat "Plekhanovist" quasi-dialectics:

"The present war," he says, "is the child not only of imperialism but also of the Russian Revolution." He, Kautsky, as early as 1904 foresaw that the Russian Revolution would give rise to Pan-Slavism in a new form, that "democratic Russia would necessarily fan the desires of the Austrian and Turkish Slavs for national independence . . . that the Polish question would then also become acute . . . that Austria would then fall to pieces because, with the collapse of tsarism, the iron ring which at present holds the centrifugal elements together would then be destroyed." (This last phrase is quoted by Kautsky from his 1904 article). . . . "The Russian Revolution . . . has imparted a mighty impetus to the nationalist strivings of the Orient, adding the Asiatic problem to the problems of Europe. *All these problems* make themselves felt most acutely in the present war; they acquire a manifoldly decisive significance as regards the mood of the *masses of the people*, including the proletarian masses, at a time when imperialist tendencies are predominant among the ruling classes." (P. 273. Italics ours.)

Here is another lovely sample of prostituting Marxism! "Democratic Russia" would have fanned the strivings of the nations of Eastern Europe towards freedom (which is undisputed), *therefore* the present war that frees no nation and that, whatever its outcome, will oppress many a nation, is not a "purely" imperialist war; "the collapse of tsarism" would have meant a dissolution of Austria due to its undemocratic national composition, *therefore* the temporarily strengthened counter-revolutionary tsarism, robbing Austria and bringing *still greater* oppression to the nationalities of Austria, has lent "the present war" a character that is not purely imperialist but to a certain degree national. "The ruling classes" bamboozle narrow-minded petty bourgeois and browbeaten peasants by means of fables regarding the national aims of the imperialist war, *therefore* a man of science, an authority on Marxism, a representative of the Second International, has a right to reconcile the masses with this bamboozling by means of a "formula" to the effect that the ruling classes have imperialist tendencies, while the "people" and the proletarian masses have "national" tendencies.

Dialectics become the meanest and basest sophisms. The national element in the present war is represented *only* by the war of Serbia against Austria (which, by the way, was noted in the resolution of the Berne Conference of our party).* Only in Serbia and among the Serbs do we find a national movement for freedom, a movement of long standing embracing millions of "national masses," and of which the present war of Serbia against Austria is a "continuation." Were this war isolated, *i. e.*, not connected with the general European war, with the selfish and predatory aims of England, Russia, etc., then all Socialists would be *obliged* to wish success to the Serbian *bourgeoisie*—this is the only correct and absolutely necessary conclusion to be drawn from the national element in the present war. Kautsky, the sophist, however, being in the service of the Austrian bourgeois clericals and generals, fails to draw just this particular conclusion!

Further, Marxist dialectics, being the last word of the scientific evolutionary method, forbid an isolated, *i. e.*, a one-sided and distorted view of an object. The national element of the Serbo-Austrian war has *no* significance, and can have none, in the general European war. If Germany wins she will throttle Belgium, swallow up one more portion of Poland, perhaps a portion of France, etc. If Russia wins she will throttle Galicia, swallow up one more portion of Poland, Armenia, etc. If the war ends in a draw, the old national oppression will remain. For Serbia, *i. e.*, perhaps for one per cent of the participants of the present war, the war is a "continuation of politics" of the bourgeois movement for national freedom. For ninety-nine per cent the war is a continuation of the policy of

* See p. 145.—*Ed.*

imperialism, *i. e.*, of the decrepit bourgeoisie capable only of raping, not of freeing nations. The Triple Entente, while "freeing" Serbia, is *selling* the interests of Serbian freedom to Italian imperialism as a reward for the latter's aid in robbing Austria.

All this is common knowledge, and all this is shamelessly distorted by Kautsky for the purpose of justifying the opportunists. There are no "pure" phenomena, and there can be none, either in nature or in society—this is exactly what Marxian dialectics teach us; they stress the fact that the very idea of purity is a certain narrowness, a one-sidedness of the human mind that cannot embrace an object in all its totality and complexity. There is no "pure" capitalism in the world, and there can be none, but there always are *admixtures* either of feudalism or of the petty bourgeoisie. or something else. To dwell on the fact that the war is not "purely" imperialist when there is a flagrant deception of "the masses of the people" by the imperialists who notoriously cover the aims of naked robbery by "national" phraseology, means, therefore, to be either an infinitely stupid pedant, or a pettifogger, or a deceiver. The core of the thing is just this, that Kautsky *supports* the deception of the people by the imperialists when he says that "for the mass of the people, including the proletarian masses," the problems of national freedom were of "decisive significance," whereas for the ruling classes the decisive factors were "imperialist tendencies" (p. 273), or when he "reinforces" this by a seemingly dialectic reference to the "infinite variety of reality" (p. 274). Reality is infinitely variegated, no doubt, this is gospel truth! But it is just as indisputably true that, in this infinite variety, there are two main and fundamental elements: the objective contents of the war as a "continuation of the policy" of imperialism, *i. e.*, of the robbing of foreign nations by the decrepit "great nations'" bourgeoisie (and their governments), whereas the prevailing subjective ideology consists of "national" phraseology that is being spread to fool the masses.

Kautsky's old sophism, here again repeated, namely, that "at the beginning of the war" the Left Wing looked upon the situation as presenting the alternative of either imperialism or Socialism, has already been analysed. This is a shameless sleight of hand, since Kautsky knows very well that the Left Wing put forth *another* alternative: either the party joins imperialist plunder and deception, or it preaches and prepares for revolutionary action. Kautsky knows also that *only* the censorship guards him against the Left Wing in Germany, making it impossible for them to disclose the true nature of the nonsensical fable which is being spread by him out of servility to Südekum.

As to the relation between the "proletarian masses" and a "handful of parliamentarians," here Kautsky advances one of the most threadbare objections:

> Let us leave out the Germans, he writes, so that we may not be defending ourselves; still, who would seriously undertake to assert that such men as Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov have become imperialists overnight, betraying Socialism? Let us leave aside the parliamentarians and the "functionaries" . . . [Kautsky obviously hints here at the magazine of Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, *Die Internationale*, where due contempt is accorded the policy of the functionaries, *i. e.*, the high official leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, its Central Committee, the *Vorstand*, its parliamentary group, etc.]. Who can assert that an order of a handful of parliamentarians alone is sufficient to make four millions of class-conscious German proletarians turn right-about-face within twenty-four hours in direct opposition to their former aims? If this were true, it would prove a terrible collapse, indeed, not only of our party, but also of the *masses* [Kautsky's italics]. If the masses were such a spineless herd of sheep, we could just as well let ourselves be buried [p. 274].

Politically and scientifically, Karl Kautsky, the great authority, has long buried himself by his conduct and by his collection of pitiful evasions. Whoever fails to understand or at least to feel this, is hopeless as far as Socialism is concerned. This is why the only correct tone was assumed in *Die Internationale* by Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and their adherents when they treated Kautsky and Co. as most despicable characters.

Think of it: On their attitude towards the war only "a handful of parliamentarians" and a handful of officials, journalists, etc., could express themselves more or less freely (*i. e.*, without being seized and taken to the barracks, without directly facing the firing squad). They voted freely, exercising their right, they could openly vote against the war—even in Russia there was no beating, no plunder, not even arrests for such a vote. Now Kautsky nobly puts at the door of the *masses* the betrayal and the supineness of that social *stratum* of whose connection with the tactics and ideology of opportunism the same Kautsky had written scores of times in the course of several years. The first and most fundamental demand of scientific research in general, and of Marxian dialectics in particular, is that a writer should examine the *connection* existing between the present struggle of tendencies within Socialism—the current that cries of treason and sounds the alarm bell and the one that sees no treason at all—and the struggle that preceded it for whole *decades.* Kautsky, however, does not mention a word about this; he does not even wish to raise the question of tendencies and *currents.* There were currents hitherto, he seems to say, there are none any more! There are only high-sounding names of authorities always revered by the souls of lackeys. It is particularly comfortable under such conditions to refer to each other and to cover up each other's "peccadillos" in a friendly fashion after the rule of claw me, claw thee. "What kind of opportunism is it, forsooth," Martov exclaimed at a lecture in Berne (see No. 36, *Sotsial-Demokrat*) "when . . . Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky!" "We must be more cautious in accusing such men as Guesde of opportunism," wrote Axelrod (*Golos,* Nos. 86 and 87). "I will not defend myself," Kautsky seconds in Berlin, "but . . . Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov!" The cuckoo lauds the cock, that the cock may laud the cuckoo! *

Inspired by the zeal of a lackey, Kautsky in his writings fell so low that he even kissed Hyndman's lordly hand, picturing him as if he had only yesterday taken the side of imperialism, whereas, in the same *Neue Zeit* and in scores of Social-Democratic papers of the whole world, they were writing of Hyndman's imperialism for *many years!* Had Kautsky, in good faith, interested himself in the political biographies of the *persons* mentioned by him, he would have tried to recall whether there had not been in those biographies such traits and events which, not "overnight" but during decades, had prepared their transition to imperialism; whether Vaillant had not been held prisoner by the Jaurèsists, and Plekhanov by the Mensheviks and Liquidators; whether Guesde's political line had not been dying off before everybody's eyes in that typically lifeless, colourless, and insipid Guesdeist magazine, *Le Socialisme* [*Socialism*],[177] which was incapable of taking any independent stand on any important question; whether Kautsky himself (we add this for the benefit of those who, quite correctly, put him alongside Hyndman and Plekhanov) had not manifested lack of backbone in the question of Millerandism, at the beginning of the struggle against Bernsteinism, etc.

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* This is a quotation from one of the fables of Krylov (1768-1844).—*Ed.*

We do not notice the slightest shadow of interest on the part of Kautsky to examine scientifically the biographies of those leaders. Not an attempt is made to see whether those leaders defend themselves by *their own* arguments or by repeating the arguments of the opportunists and the bourgeoisie; whether the actions of those leaders have acquired a serious political significance due to their own unusual influence or because they have joined somebody else's really "influential" policy supported by a military organisation, namely, the policy of the bourgeoisie! Kautsky does not even make an approach toward examining this question. What he is concerned with is to throw dust into the eyes of the masses, to stun them by the sound of names of authorities, to prevent them from putting the disputed question in a clear light and examining it from all sides.*

". . . An order of a handful of parliamentarians proved sufficient to make four millions of class-conscious . . . proletarians turn right-about-face. . . ."

There is here not a single word of truth. The party organisation of the Germans contained, not four, but one million; the united will of this mass organisation, as is the case with every organisation, was expressed *only* through its united political centre, the "handful" which betrayed Socialism. Before this handful a question was placed; this handful was called to vote; it was in a position to vote; it was in a position to write articles, etc. As to the masses, they were not asked. Not only were they not allowed to vote, they were disunited and driven "by order," not of a handful of parliamentarians, but *by order of the military authorities*. The military organisation was at hand; in *this* organisation there was no betrayal of leaders; it called the masses *individually* confronting each one with the ultimatum: "Either you go in the army, according to the advice of your leaders, or you will be shot." The masses could not act in an organised fashion because their organisation previously created (an organisation embodied in a "handful" of Legiens, Kautskys, Scheidemanns) had betrayed them. As for the creation of a *new* organisation, time is required, determination to throw out the old, rotten, obsolete organisation is required.

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* Kautsky's references to Vaillant and Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov, are characteristic also in another connection. The frank imperialists of the Lensch and Haenisch variety (not to speak of the opportunists) refer to Hyndman and Plekhanov for the justification of *their* policy, and they have a *right* to do so. They tell the truth when they say it is the same policy. However, Kautsky speaks with disdain of Lensch and Haenisch, the radicals who turned towards imperialism. Kautsky thanks God that he does not resemble those Pharisees, that he disagrees with them, that he has remained a revolutionist—Kautsky is proud of it! *In reality* Kautsky's position is the same as theirs. Kautsky, the hypocritical chauvinist using sugary phrases, is much more hideous than the chauvinist simpletons, David and Heine, Lensch and Haenisch.

Kautsky attempts to beat his opponents, the Left Wing, by attributing to them a nonsensical idea: he says that, in their conception, the "masses," "in reply" to the war, were to make a revolution "within twenty-four hours," to introduce "Socialism" against imperialism; that otherwise, according to the Left Wing, the "masses" would have manifested "spinelessness and treason." Kautsky gloats here over the kind of drivel which the compilers of ignorant booklets for the bourgeois and the police have hitherto used to "beat" the revolutionists. The Left Wing opponents of Kautsky know perfectly well that a revolution cannot be "made," that revolutions grow out of objectively ripened crises and sudden breaks in history that are independent of the will of parties and classes; that masses without organisation are deprived of a unified will; that the struggle against the strong terrorist military organisation of centralised states is a difficult and long affair. When their leaders betrayed them, the masses *could not* do anything at the crucial moment, whereas the "handful" of these leaders *could very well*, and were bound to, vote against appropriations, could take a stand against "civil peace" and the justification of the war, could express themselves as wishing the defeat of *their* governments, could set in motion an international apparatus for the propaganda on fraternisation in the trenches, could organise the distribution of illegal literature * which would preach the necessity of starting revolutionary activities, etc.

Kautsky knows perfectly well that it is just these or similar actions that the German Left Wing have in mind. They cannot speak of them directly under military censorship. Kautsky's desire to defend the opportunists at all costs leads him to the unexampled infamy of hiding behind the back of the military censors in attributing to the Left Wing obvious absurdities which he knows the censors will protect against refutations.

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* Let us remember, *apropos* of this, that it would not have been necessary to close *all* Social-Democratic papers if the government had put a ban on writing about class hatred and class struggle. To agree not to write about this, as the *Vorwärts* did, was mean and cowardly. The *Vorwärts died* politically when it did it, and L. Martov was right when he said so. It was, however, possible to retain the legally appearing papers by declaring that they were non-partisan and *not Social-Democratic*, but serving the technical needs of a section of the workers, *i. e.*, that they were *non-political papers*. An underhand Social-Democratic literature containing an *analysis* of the war, and openly published labour literature without such analysis, a literature that does not speak untruth but keeps silent about the truth—why should this not have been possible?

VII

The serious scientific and political question which Kautsky consciously evades by means of all sorts of tricks, thereby giving enormous pleasure to the opportunists, is this: How was it possible that the most eminent representatives of the Second International could betray Socialism?

This question must be examined, not from the standpoint of the biographies of one leader or the other. Their future biographers will have to analyse the problem from this angle as well, but what interests the Socialist movement at present is not this, but the study of the historical origin, the conditions of existence, the significance and the strength of the social-chauvinist policy as such. (1) Where did social-chauvinism come from? (2) What gave it strength? (3) How must it be combated? Only this approach to the question is worth while, whereas the "personal" approach is practically an evasion, a sophist's trick.

To answer the first question we must examine, first, whether social-chauvinism is not *connected*, politically and ideologically, with some previous trend in Socialism, and second, what relation there is, from the standpoint of actual political divisions, between the present division of Socialists into opponents and defenders of social-chauvinism and those divisions which historically preceded it.

By social-chauvinism we understand the acceptance of the defence of the fatherland idea in the present imperialist war, the justification of an alliance between the Socialists, the bourgeoisie and the governments of "our" countries in this war, a refusal to preach and support proletarian-revolutionary activities against "our" bourgeoisie, etc. It is perfectly clear that the fundamentals of the political ideology of social-chauvinism perfectly coincide with the foundations of opportunism. It is *the same orientation*. Opportunism, in the war environment of 1914–1915, engenders social-chauvinism. The main thing in opportunism is the idea of class collaboration. The war drives this idea to the extreme, adding to its usual factors and stimuli a whole series of new and extraordinary ones, using special threats and violence to drive the sluggish and disunited mass of the population to co-operate with the bourgeoisie. This naturally widens the circle of adherents of opportunism and it explains sufficiently why many former radicals run over to this camp.

Opportunism means sacrificing to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers the fundamental interests of the masses or, in other words, an alliance of a part of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat. The war makes such an alliance compulsory and particularly flagrant. For decades the source of opportunism lay in the peculiarities of such a period in the development of capitalism when the comparatively peaceful and civilised existence of a layer of privileged workers turned them "bourgeois," gave them crumbs from the profits of their own national capital, removed them from the sufferings, miseries and revolutionary sentiments of the ruined and impoverished masses. The imperialist war is a direct continuation and a culmination of such a state of affairs, because this is a war for the *privileges* of the great nations, for the reapportionment of the colonies among them, for their domination over other nations. To defend and to strengthen its privileged position of a "higher stratum" of the petty bourgeoisie or the aristocracy (and bureaucracy) of the working class—this is the natural continuation in war time of the petty-bourgeois opportunist hopes and tactics, this is the economic foundation of social-imperialism of our days.*

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* Here are a few examples showing how the imperialists and the bourgeoisie value the importance of "great nation" privileges and national privileges in general as a means of dividing the workers and distracting them from Socialism. The English imperialist Lucas, in a book entitled *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* [Oxford, 1912],[178] recognises the legal disabilities of coloured people in the present British Empire [pp. 96-97] and remarks: "In our own Empire, where white workers and coloured workers are side by side, as in South Africa, it would be fair to say that they do not work on the same level, and that the white man is rather an overseer of, than the fellow-workman with, the coloured man" [p. 103]. Ervin Belger, a former secretary of the imperial alliance against Social-Democrats, in a pamphlet entitled *Social-Democracy after the War* (1915),[179] praises the conduct of the Social Democrats, declaring that they must become a "pure labour party" [p. 43], a "national," a "German labour party" [p. 45], without "international, Utopian," "revolutionary" ideas [p. 44]. The German imperialist Sartorius von Waltershausen, in a book dealing with capital investment abroad (1907),[180] blames

The power of habit, the routine of a comparatively "peaceful" evolution, national prejudices, fear of acute breaks and disbelief in them—these were additional circumstances that strengthen opportunism. These facilitated hypocritical and cowardly reconciliation with opportunism, ostensibly only for a while, ostensibly only due to unusual causes and motives. The war has modified opportunism which had been nurtured for decades; it lifted it to a higher plane; it increased the number and the variety of its shadings; it augmented the ranks of its adherents; it enriched their arguments by a host of new sophisms; it amalgamated, so to speak, with the main current of opportunism many new streams and rivulets, but the main current has not disappeared. Quite the contrary.

Social-chauvinism is opportunism ripened to such an extent that the existence of this bourgeois abscess inside of the Socialist parties, as it was *hitherto*, becomes impossible.

Those who do not wish to see the most intimate and indissoluble connection that exists between social-chauvinism and opportunism, pick up individual cases and accidents—this or that opportunist, they say, has become an internationalist, this or that radical, a chauvinist. But this argument is entirely non-essential as far as the development of *currents* is concerned. For one thing, the economic foundation of chauvinism and opportunism in the labour movement is the same: it is an alliance between the none too numerous upper strata of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie, strata enjoying crumbs out of the privileges of "their" national

the Social-Democrats for ignoring the "national welfare" [p. 438]—which consists in seizing colonies—and praises the English workers for their "realism," for instance for their struggle against immigration. The German diplomat Ruedorffer, in a book on the principles of world politics,[181] accentuates the commonly known fact that the internationalisation of capital by no means eliminates a sharpened struggle of national capitalists for power and influence, for a "majority of stock" [p. 161]. The author notes that this sharpened struggle draws the workers into its current [p. 175]. The date of the book is October, 1913, and the author speaks with perfect clarity of the interests of capital [p. 157] as the cause of modern wars. He says that the question of "national tendency" becomes the "pivot" of Socialism [p. 176], that the governments have nothing to fear from the international manifestations of the Social-Democrats [p. 177], who in reality become more and more national [pp. 103, 110, 176]. International Socialism will be victorious, he says, if it extricates the workers from under the influence of nationality, since by violence alone nothing can be achieved, but it will suffer defeat if the national feeling takes the upper hand [pp. 173-174].

capital as opposed to the masses of the proletarians, the masses of the workers and the oppressed in general. In the second place, the political ideology of both currents is the same. In the third place, the old division of Socialists into an opportunist and revolutionary wing characteristic of the period of the Second International (1889-1914), by and large corresponds to the new division into chauvinists and internationalists.

To realise the correctness of the last statement one has to remember that in social sciences, as in science in general, we ordinarily deal with *mass* phenomena, not with individual cases. If we take ten European countries, namely, Germany, England, Russia, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, we find that in the first eight the new division of Socialists (over the question of internationalism) corresponds to the old one (over the question of opportunism): in Germany the magazine *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, which was the fortress of opportunism, has become the fortress of chauvinism, whereas the ideas of internationalism are advanced by the extreme Left group. In England, in the British Socialist Party, about three-sevenths are internationalists (66 votes for an international resolution and 84 against it, as shown by the latest counts), while in the opportunist bloc (Labour Party + Fabians + Independent Labour Party) *less* than one-seventh are internationalists.* In Russia the fundamental nucleus of opportunism, the Liquidationist *Nasha Zarya*, became the fundamental nucleus of chauvinism. Plekhanov and Alexinsky make more noise, but we know from five years' experience (1910-1914) that they are incapable of conducting a systematic propaganda among the masses of Russia. The fundamental nucleus of the internationalists in Russia consists of "Pravdism" and of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party as a representative of the advanced workers who re-established the party in January, 1912.

In Italy, the party of Bissolati and Co., a purely opportunist one, became chauvinist. Internationalism there is represented by a *labour* party. The *masses* of the workers are for this party; the opportunists, the parliamentarians, the petty bourgeois are for chauvinism. In Italy it was possible for several months to make a free choice, and the choice was made, not by accident, but in conformity with the class situation of the rank and file proletarians on the one hand, and petty-bourgeois groups on the other.

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* It is customary to compare the Independent Labour Party *alone* with the British Socialist Party. This is not correct. One must look, not at the organisational forms, but at the essentials. Take the dailies: there were two of them, one, the *Daily Herald*, belonging to the British Socialist Party, another, the *Daily Citizen*, belonging to the bloc of the opportunists. The daily papers express the actual work of propaganda, agitation and organisation.

In Holland, the opportunist party of Troelstra is making peace with chauvinism in general (one must not be deceived by the fact that, in Holland, the petty bourgeoisie no less than the big bourgeoisie hates Germany vehemently because the latter could most easily swallow both of them). Unflinching, sincere, ardent, convinced internationalists come from the Marxist party headed by Gorter and Pannekoek. In Sweden, the opportunist leader, Branting, is indignant over the fact that the German Socialists are blamed for betraying Socialism; in the same country, the leader of the Left Wing, Höglund, declares openly that some of his adherents do so blame the German Socialists (see *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 36).[182] In Bulgaria, the opponents of opportunism, the "Tesnyaks," declare in their press (the paper *Novoye Vremya* [*New Time*]) that the German Social-Democrats have "committed a filthy act." In Switzerland, the adherents of the opportunist, Greulich, are inclined to justify the German Social-Democrats (see their organ, the Zurich *Volksrecht* [*People's Right*]), whereas the adherents of the much more radical R. Grimm have turned the Berne paper (*Berner Tagwacht*) into an organ of the German Left Wing. Exceptions to the rule are only two countries out of ten, France and Belgium, but even here we in reality observe not an absence of internationalists but their excessive weakness and oppressed mood (due partly to causes that are easily understood). Let us not forget that Vaillant himself has admitted in *L'Humanité* [*Humanity*] that he received from his readers letters of an international orientation of which he published *not a single one* in full!

If we take trends and currents we cannot fail to realise that, by and large, it was the opportunist wing of European Socialism that betrayed Socialism and went over to chauvinism. Whence comes its power, its seeming omnipotence within the official parties? Kautsky knows very well how to raise historical questions, particularly when he deals with ancient Rome or similar matters not very close to real life, but now, when he is personally concerned, he hypocritically feigns lack of understanding. However, the thing is clear beyond misunderstanding. The gigantic power of the opportunists and chauvinists comes *from their alliance* with the bourgeoisie, the governments and the general staffs. This is often overlooked in Russia where it is assumed that the opportunists are a *section* of the Socialist parties, that there always have been and will be two wings within those parties, that the thing to do is to avoid "extremes," etc., etc.—all that stuff which one finds in philistine copybooks.

In reality, the formal adherence of the opportunists to labour parties does by no means do away with the fact that, objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, that they are transmitters of its influence, its agents in the labour movement. When Südekum, the famous opportunist, had openly and brazenly, Herostrates * fashion, demonstrated this social truth, this *class* truth, many good people gasped. The French Socialists and Plekhanov pointed their fingers at Südekum (although had Vandervelde, Sembat or Plekhanov looked in the mirror they would have seen nobody but Südekum, with only a few different national traits). The members of the German Central Committee who now praise Kautsky and are praised by Kautsky, hastened to declare, cautiously, modestly and politely (without naming Südekum), that they were "not in agreement" with Südekum's line.

This is ridiculous, because in reality, in the practical politics of the German Social-Democratic Party, Südekum alone proved at the crucial moment stronger than a hundred Haases and Kautskys (just as the *Nasha Zarya* alone is stronger than all the currents of the Brussels bloc who are afraid to split from it).

Why is it so? Because behind Südekum there stand the bourgeoisie, the government, and the general staff of a great nation. They support Südekum's policies in a thousand ways, whereas the policies of his opponents are frustrated by all means, including prison and the firing squad. Südekum's voice is broadcasted by the bourgeois press in millions of copies of papers (so are the voices of Vandervelde, Sembat, Plekhanov), whereas the voice of his opponent *cannot* be heard in the openly published press because there is military censorship.

All agree that opportunism is no accident, no sin, no slip, no betrayal on the part of individual persons, but the social product of a whole historical epoch. Not all, however, are trying to understand the full significance of this truth. Opportunism has been reared by legalism. The labour parties of the period between 1889 and 1914 had to utilise bourgeois legality. When the crisis came, illegal work became a necessity, but this is impossible without the greatest exertion of energy and determination, combined with real military strategy. To prevent such a change Südekum *alone* is sufficient, because back of him there is the whole "old world" (speaking in an historical and philosophical sense), because he, Südekum, has always betrayed and will always betray to the bourgeoisie all the military plans of its class enemy (speaking in the practical political sense).

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* Herostrates burned the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, 356 B.C., in order to perpetuate his name.—*Ed.*

It is a fact that the whole of the German Social-Democratic party (the same being true about the French *and other parties*) does *only that* which is pleasant to Südekum, or which can be tolerated by Südekum. Nothing else is *possible* legally; everything *honest*, everything really Socialist that is done within the German Social-Democratic Party, is done *against* its centre, is done in *avoiding* its Central Committee and Central Organ, is done by a *breach* of organisational discipline, is done factionally on behalf of anonymous new centres of a new party, as was the case, for instance, with the appeal of the German Left Wing published in the *Berner Tagwacht* on May 31 of the present year.[183] A *new* party actually grows, gains strength, is being organised, a real workers' party, a revolutionary, Social-Democratic party quite different from the old, rotten, national-liberal party of Legien, Südekum, Kautsky, Haase, Scheidemann and Co.*

It was, therefore, a profound historic truth that was blurted out by that opportunist, Monitor, when he said in the conservative *Preus-*

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* What happened prior to the historic voting of August 4 is extremely characteristic. The official party has cast the cloak of bureaucratic hypocrisy over this event, saying that the majority had decided and that all had voted unanimously *for* the war. Ströbel, in the magazine *Die Internationale*, however, unmasked this hypocrisy and told the truth. It appears that there were *two* groups within the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction, that each one came with its *ultimatum*, *i. e.*, with a factional decision, *i. e.*, with a decision meaning a split. One group, that of the opportunists, about thirty strong, decided to vote *for* and to do so *under all circumstances;* the other, a "Left" one, of fifteen men, decided—less resolutely—to vote *against.* When the "centre" or the "swamp," having no firm stand, had voted with the opportunists, the "Left" found themselves crushingly defeated and—they submitted! The "unity" of the German Social-Democracy is rank hypocrisy; it covers up a practically inevitable submission of the "Left" to the ultimatums of the opportunists.

sische Jahrbücher that it would be bad for the opportunists (*read:* the *bourgeoisie*) if present-day Social-Democracy were to move *further to the right*—because the workers would then quit it. The opportunists (and the bourgeoisie) need the party as it exists at present, a party *combining* the "Right" and the "Left" Wings and officially represented by Kautsky, who will reconcile everything in the world by means of smooth, "thoroughly Marxian" phrases. Socialism and revolution in words, for the people, for the masses, for the workers; Südekumism in practice, *i. e.*, joining the bourgeoisie in every serious crisis. We say: *every* crisis, because this is not confined to war time; should a serious political strike take place, "feudal" Germany as well as "free and parliamentary" England or France will *immediately* introduce martial law under one name or another. This cannot be doubted by any one of sound mind and in full possession of his senses.

There follows from here the answer to the question raised before: how to fight against social-chauvinism? Social-chauvinism is opportunism that has so much ripened, has become so strong and brazen during the long period of comparatively "peaceful" capitalism, is so outspoken in its political ideology, and is in such close proximity to the bourgeoisie and the government, that it is *impossible* to tolerate its existence within a Social-Democratic Labour Party. It may be possible to stand thin, flimsy shoe soles when walking over the sidewalks of a small provincial town, but it is impossible to get along without thick hobnailed soles when you climb mountains. Socialism in Europe has outlived that comparatively peaceful stage when it was confined within the narrow boundaries of nationality. After the war of 1914-1915, it entered a stage of revolutionary action, and a complete break with opportunism, the expulsion of opportunism from the labour parties, has become an imperative necessity.

It is quite obvious that this outline of the tasks facing Socialism in the new era of its international development does not indicate directly how fast and in what definite forms the process of separation of the workers' revolutionary Social-Democratic parties from petty-bourgeois opportunist parties will take place. It does indicate, however, that it is necessary clearly to realise the inevitability of such a separation and to direct accordingly the politics of the workers' parties. The war of 1914-1915 is a break in history of such magnitude that the attitude towards opportunism *cannot* remain as of old. It is impossible to make non-existent the things that have happened, and it is impossible to strike out either from the consciousness of the workers or from the experience of the bourgeoisie, or from the political acquisitions of our epoch the fact that, at the moment of crisis, the opportunists proved to be the nucleus of those elements within the labour parties who went over to the bourgeoisie. Pre-war opportunism—speaking on a general European scale—was in an adolescent stage, as it were. With the war it grew; it can no more be made "innocent" or youthful. There has ripened a social layer of parliamentarians, journalists, labour movement officials, privileged office holders, and some small groups of the proletariat; this layer has become one with its national bourgeoisie and has been appreciated and "assimilated" by it. It is not possible either to turn backwards or to stop the wheel of history—it is possible and it is necessary to go fearlessly ahead, from lawfully existing preparatory organisations of the working class, which have been captured by the opportunists, to revolutionary organisations that know how *not* to confine themselves to legality, that are capable of making themselves immune against opportunist betrayal—organisations of the proletariat that undertake the "struggle for power," a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This, by the way, proves how incorrect are the views of those who befog their minds and the minds of the workers with the question of what to do with such authorities of the Second International as Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky, etc. There is no real question involved here. If those persons will not understand the new tasks, they will have to stay outside or remain in the opportunist captivity in which they find themselves at present. If those persons free themselves from "captivity," they will hardly encounter *political* obstacles on their way back to the camp of the revolutionists. At any rate, it is senseless to substitute the question of the role of individual persons for the question of the struggle of policies and the sequence of epochs in the labour movement.

VIII

Legally existing mass organisations of the working class are perhaps the most outstanding feature of the Socialist parties of the epoch of the Second International. In the German party they were the strongest, and it was here that the war of 1914-1915 created the most acute crisis, and rendered the question most urgent. It is obvious that to start revolutionary activities would have meant to see the legally existing organisation disbanded by the police. The old party, from Legien to Kautsky inclusive, sacrificed the revolutionary aims of the proletariat to the maintenance of the present organisations. No amount of denying can vitiate this fact. For a mess of pottage given to the organisations that are recognised by the present police law, the proletarian right of revolution was sold.

Take a pamphlet by Karl Legien, leader of the German Social-Democratic labour unions, entitled *Warum müssen die Gewerkschaftsfunktionäre sich mehr am inneren Parteileben beteiligen* [*Why the Trade Union Functionaries Must Take a More Active Part in the Internal Life of the Party*] (Berlin, 1915).[184] This is a report read by the author on January 27, 1915, before a gathering of labour union officials. Legien read during his report, and incorporated in his pamphlet, a most interesting document, that would not otherwise have been passed by the military censor. This document—the so-called *Referenten-Material des Kreises Niederbarnim* [*Materials for Speakers in the District of Niederbarnim*] (a suburb of Berlin)—is an exposition of the views of the Left Wing Social-Democrats, of their protest against the party. The revolutionary Social-Democrats, says the document, did not and could not foresee one event, namely:

> The entire organised power of the German Social-Democratic Party and the labour unions taking the side of the belligerent government, and the utilisation of this power to suppress the revolutionary energy of the masses. [P. 34 of Legien's pamphlet.]

This is absolute truth. The following statement contained in the same document is also true:

> The vote of the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction on August 4 proved that a different attitude, even had it been deeply rooted in the masses, could have asserted itself, not under the leadership of the established party, but only against the will of the party leaderships, and by overcoming the resistance of the party and the labour unions. [*Ibid.*]

This is absolute truth.

> Had the Social-Democratic parliamentary fraction done its duty on August 4, [the document continues], the present form of organisation would probably have been annihilated; the spirit, however, would have remained, that which animated the party under the Anti-Socialist Law and helped it to overcome all difficulties. [*Ibid.*]

Legien's pamphlet notes that the company of "leaders" whom he had gathered to listen to his report and whom he calls directors, officers of the labour unions, roared when they heard this. They found it a *ridiculous* idea that it was possible and necessary to organise illegal revolutionary organisations at the moment of crisis as was done under the Anti-Socialist Law. Legien, the most faithful watchdog of the bourgeoisie, beat his breast, exclaiming:

> This . . . contains a clear Anarchist thought: to blow up the organisation in order to make the masses solve the problem. There is no doubt in my mind that this is an Anarchist idea!

"Quite right!" exclaimed in a chorus [*ibid.*, p. 37] the lackeys of the bourgeoisie who call themselves leaders of the Social-Democratic organisations of the working class.

An instructive picture. People are so degraded and dulled by bourgeois legality that they cannot even *understand* the idea of the necessity of *other* organisations, *unlawful ones*, leading the revolutionary struggle. People have fallen so low that they imagine that the unions owing their existence to police permits are a limit which cannot be trespassed—as if it were generally conceivable to *maintain* such unions as *leading* organisations in periods of crises! Here you see the dialectics of opportunism in action: the mere growth of legally existing unions, the mere habit of stupid but conscientious philistines who confine themselves to bookkeeping, creates a situation where, at the time of crises, these conscientious petty bourgeois prove to be traitors, betrayers, *stranglers* of the revolutionary energy of the masses. And this is no accident either. It is necessary to proceed to the building up of a revolutionary organisation—this is demanded by a changed historical situation, it is demanded by the era of revolutionary activities of the proletariat. To proceed in this direction, however, is possible only *over the heads* of the old leaders, the stranglers of revolutionary energy, *over the heads* of the old party by *destroying it.*

Of course, the counter-revolutionary philistines cry "Anarchism!" as did the opportunist, Eduard David, when he denounced Karl Liebknecht. It appears that in Germany only those leaders have remained honest whom the opportunists revile as Anarchists.

Take the present army. It is one of the good examples of organisation. This organisation is good only because it is *flexible;* at the same time it knows how to give to millions of people *one uniform* *will.* To-day these millions are in their homes in various parts of the country. To-morrow a call for mobilisation is issued, and they gather at the appointed centres. To-day they lie in the trenches, sometimes for months at a stretch; to-morrow they are led into battle in another formation. To-day they perform marvels, hiding themselves from bullets and shrapnel; to-morrow they do marvels in open combat. To-day their advance detachments place mines under the ground; to-morrow they move dozens of miles according to the advice of flyers above ground. We call it organisation when, in the pursuit of one aim, animated by one will, millions change the forms of their intercourse and their actions, change the place and the method of their activities, change the weapons and armaments in accordance with changing conditions and the vicissitudes of the struggle.

The same holds true about the fight of the working class against the bourgeoisie. To-day there is no revolutionary situation apparent; there are no such conditions as would cause a ferment among the masses or heighten their activities; to-day you are given an election ballot—take it. Understand how to organise for it, to hit your enemies with it, and not to place men in soft parliamentary berths who cling to their seat in fear of prison. To-morrow you are deprived of the election ballot, you are given a rifle and a splendid machine gun equipped according to the last word of machine technique—take this weapon of death and destruction, do not listen to the sentimental whiners who are afraid of war. Much has been left in the world that *must* be destroyed by fire and iron for the liberation of the working class. And if bitterness and despair grow in the masses, if a revolutionary situation is at hand, prepare to organise new organisations and *utilise* these so useful weapons of death and destruction *against your own government* and *your* bourgeoisie.

This is not easy, to be sure. It will demand difficult preparatory activities. It will demand grave sacrifices. This is a *new* species of organisation and struggle that *one must learn,* and learning is never done without errors and defeats. The relation of this species of class struggle to participation in elections is the same as storming a fortress is to manœuvring, marching, or lying in the trenches. This species of struggle is placed on the order of the day in history *very infrequently,* but its significance and its consequences are felt for decades. Single *days* when *such* methods can and must be put on the programme of struggle are equal to *scores of years* of other historic epochs.

Compare K. Kautsky with K. Legien.

> As long as the party was small [Kautsky writes], every protest against the war had propaganda value as an act of bravery. . . . As such, the admirable conduct of the . . . Russian and Serbian comrades met with general approval. The stronger a party becomes, the more the propaganda considerations are interwoven with a calculation of the practical consequences in the motives of its decisions, and the more difficult it becomes to give the separate motives equal due; nevertheless, one kind must no more be neglected than the other. Therefore, the stronger we become, the more easily do differences arise between us in every new complicated situation. [*Die Internationalität und der Krieg* (*Internationalism and the War*), p. 30.]

These reasonings of Kautsky's differ from Legien's only by their hypocrisy and cowardice. Kautsky, in substance, supports and justifies the contemptible renunciation of revolutionary activities on the part of Legien, but he does it stealthily, without expressing himself definitely, getting off with hints, confining himself to bowing both before Legien and before the revolutionary conduct of the Russians. Such an attitude towards the revolutionists we Russians are wont to find only among the liberals: The liberals are always ready to recognise the "courage" of the revolutionists; at the same time, however, they will not renounce their arch-opportunist tactics at any price. Self-respecting revolutionists will not accept the expression of "approval" on the part of Kautsky; on the contrary, they will indignantly repudiate such an approach to the question. If there is no revolutionary situation at hand, if it is not imperative to preach revolutionary action, then the conduct of the Russians and Serbians is *incorrect*, then their tactics are wrong. Let such knights as Legien and Kautsky at least have the courage of their convictions, let them say it openly.

If, however, the tactics of the Russian and Serbian comrades deserve "approval," then it is not permissible, it is criminal, to justify the *opposite* tactics of the "strong" parties, the German, the French, etc. By means of an intentionally vague expression, "practical consequences," Kautsky *covered up* that plain truth that the great and strong parties *became afraid* of their organisations being disbanded, their treasuries seized, their leaders arrested by the governments. This means that Kautsky justifies betrayal of Socialism by considerations of the unpleasant "practical consequences" that follow revolutionary tactics. If this is not prostituting Marxism, what is?

"We would have been arrested," one of the Social-Democratic Deputies who voted for military appropriations on August 4 is alleged to have declared at a workers' meeting in Berlin. And the workers shouted in reply: "Well, what's wrong with that?"

In the absence of any other sign to serve as a signal for the working masses of Germany *and France*, to convey to them revolutionary sentiments and the idea of preparing for revolutionary activities, the arrest of a Deputy for a courageous speech would have played the excellent role of a clarion call; it would have helped *unite* the proletarians of various countries in revolutionary work. Such uniting *is not easy:* the more obligatory was it for those on top, for those Deputies who have a view of the entire political field, *to take the initiative.*

Not only in war time, but positively in every acute political situation, not to speak of periods of real revolutionary activities on the part of the masses, the governments of even the freest bourgeois countries will threaten to disband the legally existing organisations, to seize their treasuries, to arrest the leaders, and to bring about similar "practical consequences." What, then, shall we do? Justify, with Kautsky, the opportunists? But this would mean to turn the Social-Democratic parties into national-liberal labour parties.

For a Socialist there can be only one conclusion: the pure legalism, the legalism at any price, of the "European" parties, has outlived itself; in consequence of the development of capitalism in the pre-imperialist stage, it has become the foundation for a bourgeois labour policy. It must be supplemented by the creation of an illegally existing base, an illegally existing organisation, illegal Social-Democratic work, at the same time not giving up any one of the legal positions. *How* this can be done will be shown by experience. Let there only be the wish to take this road, let there be the consciousness of its necessity. The revolutionary Social-Democrats of Russia proved in 1912-1914 that this problem can be solved. The workers' Deputy Muranov, who conducted himself at the trial better than any other, and who was exiled by tsarism to Siberia, proved in practice that, outside of *ministerial* parliamentarism (from Henderson, Sembat, and Vandervelde down to Südekum and Scheidemann who are also perfectly and completely "ministerial," although they are not admitted further than the anteroom!) there can be an *illegal* and *revolutionary* parliamentarism.

Let the Kossovskys and Potresovs be delighted with the "European" parliamentarism of the lackeys—we shall not tire of telling the workers that such legalism, such Social-Democracy as that of Legien, Kautsky, Scheidemann, deserve only contempt.

IX

Let us sum up. The collapse of the Second International came into the clearest relief in the flagrant betrayal by the majority of the official Social-Democratic parties of Europe of their convictions and of their solemn Stuttgart and Basle resolutions. However, this collapse which means the complete victory of opportunism, the transformation of the Social-Democratic parties into national-liberal labour parties, is only a result of the entire historical epoch of the Second International, which covers the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The objective conditions of this epoch—a transition period from the completion in Western Europe of bourgeois and national revolutions to the beginning of Socialist revolutions—gave birth to and nurtured opportunism. In some countries of Europe we observed at that time a split in the labour and Socialist movement, a split generally defined by the attitude towards opportunism (England, Italy, Holland, Bulgaria, Russia), in others, a long and stubborn struggle of currents along the same line (Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland). The crisis that was created by the great war has torn off the coverings, has cast away the conventions, has opened the abscess that had long ago become ripe, and has shown opportunism in its true role as an ally of the bourgeoisie. A complete separation of the labour parties from this element, a definite organisational break, has become a necessity. The imperialist epoch cannot tolerate the existence in one party of an advance-guard of the revolutionary proletariat on the one hand, and of the semi petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class which enjoys crumbs from the privileges of the "great nation" situation on the other. The old theory of opportunism as a "legitimate shade" of one-and-the-same party that avoids "extremes," has now turned into the greatest betrayal of the workers and the greatest hindrance to the labour movement. There is less danger in open opportunism, which by one shock repels the working masses, than in this theory of the golden middle road which by Marxian verbiage justifies opportunist practice, and by a series of sophisms proves the untimeliness of revolutionary action, etc.

The most notable representative of this theory, at the same time the greatest authority in the Second International, Kautsky, has revealed himself as a first-class hypocrite and a virtuoso in the work of prostituting Marxism. In the German party, which is a million strong, there is not one half-way honest, class-conscious and revolutionary Social-Democrat who does not turn away with indignation from such a "leader," who is ardently defended by the Südekums and Scheidemanns.

The proletarian masses, about nine-tenths of whose old leading elements have gone over to the bourgeoisie, find themselves scattered and helpless in face of a debauch of chauvinism, in face of a barrier of martial law and military censorship. However, the objective revolutionary situation created by the war and becoming ever wider and ever deeper, inevitably gives birth to revolutionary sentiments; it hardens and enlightens the best and most conscious proletarians. A sudden change in the mood of the masses becomes not only possible but more and more probable, a change similar to that which was observed in Russia early in 1905 in connection with the "Gaponade," * when backward proletarian masses grew in several months, and sometimes in several weeks, into an army of millions following the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. It is impossible to know whether a powerful revolutionary movement will develop immediately after *this* war, or during it, etc. At any rate, *only* work in this direction deserves the name of Socialist work. The slogan that generalises and directs this work, that helps to unite and consolidate those who wish to aid the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat against its government and its bourgeoisie, is the slogan of civil war.

In Russia, the complete separation of the revolutionary Social-Democratic proletarian elements from the petty-bourgeois opportunists has been prepared by the whole history of the labour movement. Bad service is rendered it by those who disregard history, who, declaiming against "factionalism," deprive themselves of the possibility of understanding the real process of the formation of a proletarian party in Russia. That party was actually formed in the course of a struggle against various kinds of opportunism, a struggle lasting several years. Of all the "great" nations participating in the present war, only Russia has recently gone through a revolution.

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* See footnote on p. 262.—*Ed.*

The bourgeois aims of a revolution in which the proletariat played a decisive role could not fail to call forth a split between the bourgeois and proletarian trends in the labour movement. During a period of approximately twenty years (1894-1914) when Russian Social-Democracy existed as an organisation connected with the mass labour movement (and not only as an ideological current as in 1883-1894), a struggle was going on between the proletarian revolutionary and the petty-bourgeois opportunist tendencies. The "Economism" of 1894-1902 was undoubtedly a tendency of the latter kind. A whole series of its arguments and traits of its ideology—the "Struveist" distortion of Marxism, references to the "masses" to justify opportunism, etc.—bear a striking resemblance to the present vulgarised Marxism of Kautsky, Cunow, Plekhanov, etc. It would be a highly useful task to remind the present generation of Social-Democrats of the old *Rabochaya Mysl* [*Worker's Thought*] and *Rabocheye Dyelo* [*Worker's Cause*] as a parallel to the Kautsky of to-day.

The "Menshevism" of the following (1903-1908) period was a direct successor, both ideological and organisational, to Economism. During the Russian Revolution it followed tactics that meant, objectively, the dependence of the proletariat upon the liberal bourgeoisie and that were an expression of petty-bourgeois opportunism. When in the following period (1908-1914) the main current of Menshevism gave birth to Liquidationism, the class significance of this current became so apparent that the best representatives of Menshevism continually protested against the policy of the *Nasha Zarya* group. This group, however—the only one which, in opposition to the revolutionary Marxist party of the working class, conducted systematic work among the masses in the last five or six years—proved in the war of 1914-1915 to be *social-chauvinist!* This in a country where absolutism is alive; where the bourgeois revolution is far from being completed; where forty-three per cent of the population oppresses the majority of "alien" nationalities. The "European" type of development where certain strata of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the intelligentsia and an insignificant portion of the labour aristocracy, can "make use" of the privileges accruing to "their" nation as one of the "great nations," has had its counterpart also in Russia.

Both the working class and the workers' Social-Democratic Party of Russia have been prepared by their whole history for "internationalist," *i. e.*, truly revolutionary and consistently revolutionary, tactics.

P.S. This article had been set up when the papers published a "manifesto" of Kautsky and Haase in common with Bernstein. Those gentlemen have noted that the masses are going to the left, and are now ready to "make peace" with the Left Wing—naturally, at the price of maintaining "peace" with the Südekums. *Mädchen für alle,* indeed!

N. LENIN.

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THE HONEST VOICE OF A FRENCH SOCIALIST

In French Switzerland, where pro-French chauvinism is raging with only a little less intensity than in France, the voice of an honest Socialist has been heard. In our despicable times this is quite an event. We must pay all the more attention to this voice because we have here to do with a Socialist of typically French—rather Romance, because the Italians, for instance, are of the same kind—temperament and state of mind.

We have in mind a little pamphlet by Paul Golay, the editor of a small Socialist paper in Lausanne. In that city the author gave a lecture on March 11, 1915, on the subject: "Socialism That Is Dying and Socialism That Ought to Be Born Again," and then he published it separately.*

"On August 1, 1914, the war flared up. For weeks prior to this now famous date and after it millions of people waited," the author begins. Millions of people waited, he says, to see whether the resolutions and the declarations of the leaders of Socialism would not lead "to a mighty uprising which by its storm would sweep away the criminal governments." But the expectations of millions were deceived. "We attempted," says Golay, "comradely" to justify the Socialists by the "flash-like unexpectedness of the war," by lack of information, but these justifications did not satisfy us. "We did not feel at ease, as if our conscience were steeped in the filthy waters of equivocation and lies." From this the reader may already conclude that Golay is sincere. A quality almost unusual in our times.

Golay recalls the "revolutionary tradition" of the proletariat. Perfectly aware of the fact that "for each situation a fitting action is required," he reminds us that "for exceptional situations exceptional measures are necessary. Strong maladies, strong remedies." He recalls "decisions of congresses," "which directly address themselves to the masses and urge them to undertake revolutionary and rebellious actions." There follow quotations from the passages in the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions. The author emphasises that "those resolutions do not contain any argument as to a defensive or offensive war, consequently they do not propose any special national tactics to supersede the generally accepted fundamental principles."

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* Paul Golay, *Le socialisme qui meurt et le socialisme qui doit renaître*, Lausanne, 1915.—*Ed.*

Having read this, the reader is convinced that Golay is not only a sincere, but also an honest, convinced Socialist, a quality absolutely exceptional among the prominent figures of the Second International!

> . . . The proletariat was congratulated by military commanders, and the bourgeois press in warm expressions praised the resurrection of what it called the "national soul." This resurrection has cost us three million corpses.
>
> And still never has a workers' organisation had such a large number of dues-paying members; never has there been such an abundance of parliamentarians, such splendid organisation of the press. And never has there been a more hideous cause against which one should have risen.
>
> Under such tragic circumstances, when the existence of millions of people is at stake, all revolutionary actions are not only permissible, but lawful. They are more than lawful, they are sacred. The imperative duty of the proletariat demanded the attempt of the impossible in order to save our generation from the events which are flooding Europe with blood.
>
> There have been no energetic steps, no attempts at a revolt, no actions leading to an uprising. . . .
>
> . . . Our opponents cry about the collapse of Socialism. They are too hasty. Still, who will dare assert that they are wrong in all respects? What is dying at the present moment is not Socialism in general, but one species of Socialism, that sugary Socialism without the spirit of idealism, without passion, with the manners of a governmental office-holder, and with the little paunch of a respectable family head; Socialism without audacity, without madness, a devotee of statistics, steeped to its ears in amicable agreements with capitalism; Socialism occupied with reforms only; Socialism that has sold its birthright for a mess of pottage; Socialism that throttles people's impatience in order to aid the bourgeoisie—a sort of automatic brake on audacious proletarian actions.
>
> It is this Socialism which threatened to infest the whole International that is to a certain degree responsible for that futility, for that impotence for which we are blamed.

In other passages of the pamphlet Golay speaks directly of "reformist" Socialism and of "opportunism" as distortion of Socialism.

Speaking of that distortion, recognising the "general responsibility" of the proletariat of *all* the belligerent countries, emphasising that "this responsibility falls on the heads of the leaders whom the masses trusted and from whom they expected a slogan," Golay correctly takes as an example German Socialism, "best organised, best shaped, best stuffed with doctrines," to show "its numerical strength, its revolutionary weakness."

> Animated with a revolutionary spirit, German Social-Democracy could have confronted militarist undertakings with a resistance sufficiently definite, sufficiently stubborn, to draw after it the proletariat of other countries of Central Europe on this, the only road to salvation.
>
> . . . German Socialism enjoyed a great influence in the International. It could do more than all other parties. The greatest effort was expected from it. But numbers are nothing if personal energy is paralysed by too severe discipline and if the "chiefs" utilise their influence to obtain the least efforts. [Much as the second part of the phrase is correct, the first is incorrect: discipline is a splendid and necessary thing, for instance, the discipline of a party that expels the opportunists and the opponents of revolutionary action.] The German proletariat, through the example of its responsible leaders, obeyed the call of the military clique . . . the other sections of the International became frightened and acted likewise; in France, two Socialists found it necessary to participate in a bourgeois government. Thus, several months * after a solemn declaration at the congress to the effect that Socialists considered it a crime to shoot at each other, millions of workers entered the army and began to commit the crime with such persistence, with such animation, that the capitalist bourgeoisie and the governments repeatedly expressed to them their gratitude.

Golay does not confine himself, however, to mercilessly branding "dying Socialism." He also manifests a full understanding of what caused this dying and what Socialism must supersede the dying one. "The working masses in every country," he writes, "are to a degree under the influence of ideas current in bourgeois circles." "When Bernstein under the name of revisionism formulated a kind of democratic reformism," he writes, "Kautsky shattered him by means of pertinent facts." ** "But after all conventions had been observed, the party continued its *Realpolitik* in the old vein. The Social-Democratic Party became what it is at present. The organisation is excellent. The body is powerful. But the soul has left it." Not only German Social-Democracy, but all sections of the International reveal the same tendencies. "The growing number of officials" gives birth to certain consequences; attention is turned only to the regular payment of dues; strikes are looked upon as "manifestations aiming at securing better conditions of agreement" with the capitalists. The habit is developed of linking the interests of the workers with the interests of the capitalists, "to subordinate the fate of the workers to the fate of capitalism itself," "to wish an intensive development of 'our' 'national' industry to the detriment of foreign industry."

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* In the text "six months."—*Ed.*

** In the text "by means of pertinent quotations taken from the Marxist Bible."—*Ed.*

R. Schmidt, the Reichstag Deputy, says in one of his articles that regulation of labour conditions by the labour unions is also of advantage for the capitalists, since it "introduces order and stability in economic life" and since it "makes the capitalists' calculations easier and counteracts unfair competition."

In quoting these words, Golay exclaims:

> It appears that the trade union movement must consider it an honour to make the capitalist profits more stable! It is apparently the aim of Socialism to demand, within the framework of capitalist society, the maximum of advantages compatible with the existence of the capitalist system as such. If that is so, then we have here a renunciation of all principles. The proletariat strives, not to strengthen the capitalist order, not to receive a minimum of conditions in favour of hired labour, but to eliminate the system of private property and to destroy the system of hired labour.
>
> . . . The secretaries of large organisations [he continues] become important personages. In the political movement, Deputies, litterateurs, scientists, lawyers, all those who, together with their science, bring a certain personal ambition, enjoy an influence which is at times directly dangerous.
>
> The powerful organisation of the labour unions and their substantial treasuries have developed among their members a craft spirit. One of the negative sides of the trade union movement, which is in substance a reformist movement, is the fact that it improves the situation of various sections of wage workers, placing one above the other. This destroys their basic unity and creates among the better situated a spirit of fearfulness which compels them sometimes to be afraid of a "movement" that might become fateful to their situation, their treasury, their balance sheet. Thus a certain division between the various sections of the proletariat comes into existence, sections artificially created by the trade union movement itself.

This, of course, is no argument against strong organisations, says the author, obviously to meet the arguments of a certain kind of "critic." This, he says, only proves that organisations must have a "soul," must have "enthusiasm."

What are the chief characteristics that must distinguish the Socialism of to-morrow? It will be international, irreconcilable, and rebellious. Irreconcilability is a power, says Golay correctly, and invites the reader to cast a glance at the "history of doctrines." When did they prove influential? When they were tamed by the authorities, or when they remained irreconcilable? When did Christianity lose its value? Was it not when Constantine promised it revenues and offered it, instead of persecutions and executions, the braid-ornamented garb of court lackeys?

A French philosopher said: "Dead ideas are those that appear in an elegant cloak, without roughness, without daring. They are dead because they enter into general circulation, forming a part of the usual intellectual equipment of the great army of philistines. Strong ideas are those that give impetus and create scandals, that provoke indignation, anger, irritation among one kind of people, enthusiasm among others." The author finds it necessary to recall this truth to the minds of present-day Socialists, among whom he very often finds an absence of any kind of "ardent convictions"; "they believe," he says, "in nothing: neither in reforms that are belated, nor in a revolution that has not yet arrived."

Irreconcilability, readiness for rebellion, the author says, "does not at all lead to dreaminess; on the contrary, it leads to action. A Socialist would not neglect any form of activity. He would be able to find new ones in accordance with the demands and conditions of the movement. . . . He demands immediate reforms; he gets them not by bickering with the opponent, but he takes them by force, as a concession by the bourgeoisie intimidated by the enthusiasm and audacity of the masses."

After the most shameless vulgarising of Marxism and degrading of Socialism by the Plekhanovs, Kautskys, and Co., Golay's pamphlet is veritably refreshing. Only the two following faults must be noted.

First, Golay in common with the majority of the Romance Socialists, not excluding the present-day Guesdeists, does not pay enough attention to the "doctrine," *i. e.*, to the *theory* of Socialism. He feels a certain prejudice towards Marxism, which can be explained, though not justified, by the present prevalence of the most vicious caricature of Marxism in the writings of Kautsky, in the *Neue Zeit*, and among the Germans in general. A man like Golay, who has recognised the necessity of the *death* of reformist Socialism and the revival of revolutionary, "rebellious" Socialism, *i. e.*, who understands the necessity of an uprising, who preaches it, who is capable of preparing himself and others for it, is *in fact* a thousand times closer to Marxism than those gentlemen who know the "theses" by heart but who are now busy (for instance, in the *Neue Zeit*) justifying social-chauvinism of every kind, including that which says that one must at present "make peace" with the chauvinist Central Committee of the German party and "forget the past."

Still, much as Golay's neglectful attitude towards Marxism is "humanly" explainable, much as the blame can be removed from him and placed on the dying and dead trend of the French Marxists (Guesdeists), the blame is still there. The world's greatest movement of the oppressed class, of the most revolutionary class in history, is impossible without a revolutionary theory. It cannot be invented. It *grows* out of the sum total of the revolutionary experience and the revolutionary thought of all the countries in the world. Such theory *did* grow, beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century. It is called Marxism. One cannot be a Socialist, one cannot be a revolutionary Social-Democrat, without participating, according to one's powers, in developing this theory and adapting it to changed conditions, without in our day waging a merciless struggle against the mutilation of this theory by the Plekhanovs, Kautskys, etc.

Lack of attention to theory led Golay to a number of incorrect or hasty attacks, for instance, on centralism or discipline in general, against "historical materialism," which, the author alleges, is not sufficiently "idealistic," etc. Hence also a remarkable lack of decisiveness as to the question of slogans. For instance, the demand that Socialism should become "rebellious," is full of profound meaning and represents that correct thought outside of which all phrases about internationalism, revolutionary spirit, and Marxism are rank stupidity, more often hypocrisy. This idea, however, the idea of civil war, ought to have been developed, made the central point of tactics, whereas Golay confines himself to stating it. In our times this is much, but it is not sufficient from the standpoint of the postulates of the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. For instance, Golay is too narrow in discussing the question of "replying" to the war by revolution, if we may so express ourselves. He does not take into account that if it has proved impossible to *reply* to the war by a revolution, still, the war itself has begun to teach and is teaching the masses the lesson of revolution by creating a revolutionary situation and by broadening and deepening it.

Golay's second fault is best illustrated by the following argument in his pamphlet:

> We blame nobody. The International, in order to regenerate, is in need of a brotherly spirit to animate all sections; it must be declared, however, that in the face of the great task placed before it by the capitalist bourgeoisie in July and August, 1914, reformist, centralist [?] and hierarchical Socialism presented a sorry sight.

"We blame nobody. . . ." This is where you are mistaken, Comrade Golay! You yourself have admitted that "dying Socialism" is connected with bourgeois ideas (which means that it is nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie), with certain ideological currents in Socialism ("reformism"), with the interests and the peculiar situation of certain groups (parliamentarians, officials, intelligentsia, some of the best educated layers or groups of the workers), etc. From this *necessarily* follows a conclusion which you do not draw. Physical persons "die" a so-called natural death; *ideological and political trends, however, cannot die this way.* As the bourgeoisie will not die until it is overthrown, so the current that is nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie, that expresses the interests of a little group of intellectuals and labour aristocracy allied with the bourgeoisie, will not die if it is not "killed," *i. e.*, overthrown, deprived of every influence among the Socialist proletariat. This current is strong just because of its connections with the bourgeoisie; due to the objective conditions of the "peaceful" epoch of 1871-1914, it has become a kind of commanding, parasitic layer in the labour movement.

Our duty is, under such conditions, not only to blame, but to sound the alarm bell, mercilessly to unmask, to overthrow, to "take off the posts" this parasitic layer, to destroy its "unity" with the labour movement, because such "unity" means in practice unity of the proletariat with the national bourgeoisie and a *split* in the international proletariat, unity of lackeys and a split among the revolutionists.

"Irreconcilability is power," says Golay correctly; he demands that the "Socialism that ought to be born again" should become irreconcilable. But is it not the same for the bourgeoisie whether the proletariat practices reconciliation *directly* or *indirectly* through bourgeois adherents, defenders, and agents *within* the labour movement, *i. e.*, through the opportunists? The latter is even *more advantageous* for the bourgeoisie, because it guarantees it a firmer influence over the workers.

Golay is a thousand times right when he says that there is a dying Socialism and a Socialism that must be born again, but this death and rebirth represent a merciless struggle against the current of opportunism, not only an ideological struggle, but a removal from the labour parties of that hideous growth, an expulsion from the organisations of certain representatives of these tactics which are alien to the proletariat, a definite break with them. They will not die either physically or politically, but the workers will break with them, will push them down into the ditch where open bourgeois servitors dwell; by the example of their decay will be educated a new generation, or, more correctly, new armies of the proletariat capable of uprising.

N. LENIN.

Kommunist, Nos. 1-2, 1915.

IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM IN ITALY

(A NOTE)

In order to elucidate the problems placed before Socialism by the present imperialist war, it is useful to cast a glance at the various European countries, thus to learn to distinguish between national modifications and details of the general picture and that which is fundamental and essential. Things are better seen from a distance. The less the resemblance between Italy and Russia, the more interesting it is, in some respects, to compare imperialism and Socialism in both countries.

In the present note we only intend to call attention to material bearing upon this problem as presented by a bourgeois professor, Roberto Michels, in his book *Italian Imperialism,* and by a Socialist, T. Barboni, in a book *Internationalism or Class Nationalism* (*The Italian Proletariat and the European War*), both of which appeared after the beginning of the war.*

The talkative Michels has remained as superficial as in his other works, hardly touching upon the economic side of imperialism. His book, however, contains a collection of valuable material on the origin of Italian imperialism and on the change that is the main characteristic of the present epoch and that is most obvious in Italy, namely, the change from the epoch of wars for national liberation to an epoch of imperialist and reactionary wars of plunder. Revolutionary-democratic Italy, that is, revolutionary-bourgeois Italy, the Italy that cast off the yoke of Austria, the Italy of Garibaldi's time, decisively changes before our very eyes into an Italy oppressing other peoples, robbing Turkey and Austria, an Italy of a crude repulsively reactionary and rapacious bourgeoisie whose mouth waters in the expectation of a share in the plunder to which it is admitted. Like every decent professor, Michels, of course, considers his servility before the bourgeoisie as "scientific objectivism"; he calls this division of plunder "a division of that part of the world which still remains in the hands of weak peoples" [p. 179]. Disdainfully rejecting as "Utopian" the point of view of those Socialists who are hostile towards colonial politics of any kind, Michels repeats the argument of those who think that Italy, judging by the density of her population and the force of the emigration movement, "ought to have been the second colonial power," ceding priority only to England. The argument that forty per cent of the Italian people are illiterate, that even at present the country knows cholera riots, etc., Michels repudiates by pointing to England! Was not England, he says, a country of unprecedented poverty, humiliation, deaths due to starvation among the working masses, alcoholism, misery, and filth in the slums of the cities in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the English bourgeoisie was so successfully laying the foundations of its present colonial power?

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* Roberto Michels, *L'imperialismo italiano,* Milan, 1914; T. Barboni, *Internazionalismo, o nazionalismo di classe?* (*Il proletariato d'Italia e la guerra europea*). Edito dall'autore a Campione d'Intelvi (provincia di Como), 1915.

It must be admitted that, from the bourgeois standpoint, this argument is unassailable. Colonial politics and imperialism are not healthy, curable deviations of capitalism (the way philistines think, together with Kautsky); they are an inevitable consequence of the very foundations of capitalism. Competition among individual enterprises makes it inevitable for the entrepreneurs either to become ruined, or to ruin others; competition between individual countries places before each one of them the alternative of either remaining behind, ever running the risk of becoming a second Belgium, or ruining and conquering other countries, thus elbowing their way to a place among the "great" powers.

Italian imperialism was named "imperialism of the paupers" (*l'imperialismo della povera gente*) owing to the poverty of Italy and to the desperate misery of the masses of Italian emigrants. Arturo Labriola, the Italian chauvinist, who differs from his former opponent, G. Plekhanov, only in that he somewhat earlier revealed his social-chauvinism, which he reached by way of petty-bourgeois semi-Anarchism, and not by way of petty-bourgeois opportunism, wrote in his book on the Tripolitan War (1912): [185]

". . . It is obvious that we are fighting not only against the Turks . . . but also against the intrigues, the intimidations, the money, and the armies of plutocratic Europe, which cannot tolerate that small nations should dare to make one gesture, to say one word that would compromise its ironclad hegemony" [p. 22]. The leader of the Italian nationalists, Corradini, declared at the same time: "In the same way as Socialism was a method of freeing the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, nationalism will for us Italians be a method of freeing ourselves from the French, the Germans, the English, the North and South Americans who, in relation to us, appear as a bourgeoisie."

Every country which has more colonies, capital, armies, than "we" have, deprives "us" of certain privileges, certain profits or super-profits. As among individual capitalists the one who has machines above the average, or certain monopolies, receives super-profits, so among nations, the one that is economically better situated than others receives super-profits. It is the business of the bourgeoisie to fight for privileges and advantages for its national capital, and to fool the people or the populace (with the aid of Labriola and Plekhanov) by dressing up the imperialist struggle for the "right" to plunder others as a war for national liberation.

Prior to the Tripolitan War, Italy did not plunder other nations, at least not to a large extent. Is this not an intolerable offence to national pride? The Italians are oppressed and humiliated before other nations. Italian emigration was 100,000 annually in the seventies of the last century; now it has reached from 500,000 to 1,000,000. All these people are paupers, driven from their country by hunger in the literal sense of the word. All these people supply labour power in the worst paid branches of industry, all this mass inhabits the most crowded, proverty-stricken, and filthy sections of the American and European cities. From 1,000,000 in 1881, the number of Italians abroad increased to 5,500,000 in 1910, the bulk of this mass living in the rich and "great" countries, in comparison with whom the Italians appear as the crudest, most unskilled, poor and defenceless labour mass. Of the main countries consuming cheap Italian labour, France counted in 1910, 400,000 Italians (240,000 in 1881); Switzerland, 135,000 (41,000 in 1881); Austria, 80,000 (40,000); Germany, 180,000 (7,000); the United States of America, 1,779,000 (170,000); Brazil, 1,500,000 (82,000); Argentine, 1,000,000 (254,000). "Brilliant" France which, 125 years ago, fought for freedom, and therefore calls its present war for its own and the English slaveholders' "colonial rights" a war for liberation, keeps hundreds of thousands of Italian workers in special ghettos. The petty-bourgeois crew of this "great" nation does its best to keep them in isolation, to insult and humiliate them in every possible way.

The Italians are disdainfully called "Macaroni" (let the Great-Russian reader remember how many contemptuous names are current in our country in relation to those of non-Russian blood who were not fortunate enough to be born with the rights to the noble great-nation privileges which serve in the hands of the Purishkeviches as a means of oppressing both the Great-Russian and the other peoples of Russia). France, the great nation, concluded a treaty with Italy in 1896 which stipulates that the latter is not allowed to increase the number of Italian schools in Tunis! The Italian population of Tunis has since increased six times. There are in Tunis 105,000 Italians as against 35,000 Frenchmen, but among the former there are only 1,167 landowners, with an aggregate of 83,000 hectares, whereas among the latter there are 2,395 landowners who have grabbed 700,000 hectares in that colony. How can one fail to agree with Labriola and other Italian "Plekhanovists" that Italy has a "right" to hold its colony in Tripoli, to oppress the Slavs in Dalmatia, to divide Asia Minor, etc.? *

In the same way as Plekhanov supports the Russian war of "liberation" against the German intention to turn Russia into its colony, so the leader of the Reformist Party, L. Bissolati, raises a hue and cry against the "invasion of Italy by foreign capital" [p. 97], namely,

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*It is highly instructive to note the connection between Italy's transformation into an imperialist country and the government's conceding to an election reform. The reform increased the number of voters from 3,219,000, to 8,562,000, in other words, it "nearly" introduced general suffrage. Prior to the Tripolitan War, Giolitti, who accomplished the reform, was decidedly against it. "The motives for this change of policy by the government and the moderate parties," says Michels, "were essentially patriotic. Notwithstanding their old theoretical aversion towards a colonial policy, the industrial workers, and more so the lower strata, had fought against the Turks in perfect discipline and obedience, contrary to all expectations. Such slavish behaviour as regards the government's policy deserved a reward which would stimulate the proletariat to continue along this new road. The President of the Council of Ministers declared in Parliament that by his patriotic behaviour on the battlefield of Libya the Italian worker had proven to the country that he had reached the highest stage of political maturity. He who is capable of sacrificing his life for a noble aim is also capable of defending the interests of the fatherland as a voter, and he therefore has a right that the State should consider him worthy of the fullness of political rights" [p. 177]. The Italian Ministers are good talkers! Still better ones are the German "radical" Social-Democrats who at present repeat the following argument of a lackey: "We," they say, "have fulfilled our duty, helping 'you' to plunder foreign countries, whereas 'you' do not wish to give 'us' universal suffrage in Prussia. . . ."

German capital in Lombardy, English in Sicily, French in Piacentino, Belgian in the street car enterprise, etc., etc., without end.

The question has been put squarely and one cannot fail to recognise that the European War has been of enormous use for humanity in that it actually has placed the question squarely before hundreds of millions of people of various nationalities: either defend, with rifle or pen, directly or indirectly, in whatever form it may be, the great-nation and national privileges in general, as well as the prerogative or the pretensions of "our" bourgeoisie, that is to say, either be its adherent and lackey, or utilise every struggle, particularly the clash of arms for great-nation privileges, to unmask and overthrow every government, in the first place *our own*, by means of the revolutionary action of an internationally united proletariat. There is no middle road; in other words, the attempt to take a middle position means, in reality, covertly to join the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Barboni's book is, in substance, entirely devoted to covering up this latter act. Barboni puts on the airs of an internationalist exactly as our Mr. Potresov does; he argues that, from the internationalist point of view, it is necessary to find out the success of which side would be more useful or more harmful to the proletariat, and, of course, he decides this question against Austria and Germany. In a perfectly Kautskyist spirit, Barboni proposes to the Italian Socialist Party solemnly to proclaim the solidarity of the workers of all countries—in the first place, of course, of the belligerent countries—to proclaim internationalist convictions, a programme of peace on the basis of disarmament and national independence of all nations, including the formation of a "league of all nations for the mutual guaranty of inviolability and independence" [p. 126]. It is in the name of those principles that Barboni declares that militarism is a "parasitic" phenomenon in capitalism, a thing "not at all necessary"; that Germany and Austria are permeated with "military imperialism"; that their aggressive politics were a "continuous threat to European peace"; that Germany had "always rejected the proposals for limitation of armaments advanced by Russia [*sic!!*] and England," etc., etc., and that the Socialist Party of Italy declares itself in favour of Italy's intervention on the side of the Triple Entente at an opportune moment.

It remains unknown which are the principles that guide one in preferring the bourgeois imperialism of England to that of Germany. Economically, Germany developed in the twentieth century faster than the other European countries; in the matter of the division of colonies, it was particularly "wronged"; England, on the other hand, developed much more slowly; it has grabbed a whole world of colonies; it often applies there, away from Europe, no less bestial methods of oppression than the Germans; with its great wealth it hires millions of soldiers of the various continental powers to plunder Austria and Turkey, etc. Barboni's internationalism, in reality, reduces itself, like that of Kautsky, to a verbal defence of Socialist principles, under which hypocritical cover the Italian bourgeoisie is defended in practice. One cannot fail to notice that Barboni, having published his book in free Switzerland (where the censor deleted only one-half of a line on p. 75, dealing obviously with criticism of Austria), did not find it necessary in the remaining 143 pages to mention the main principles of the Basle Manifesto, or conscientiously to analyse them. On the other hand, our Barboni quotes with deep sympathy [p. 103] two former Russian revolutionists who are now advertised by the entire Francophile bourgeoisie: the petty-bourgeois Anarchist, Kropotkin, and the Social-Democratic philistine, Plekhanov. No wonder! Plekhanov's sophisms do not differ in substance from Barboni's. In Italy, however, political freedom easily tears the cover off those sophisms, revealing more clearly Barboni's actual position as an agent of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the workers.

Barboni regrets the "absence of a real and actual revolutionary spirit" within German Social-Democracy (exactly in Plekhanov's way); he ardently greets Karl Liebknecht (as he is greeted by the *French* social-chauvinists who do not see the beam in their own eye); but he decidedly declares that "we cannot speak of the bankruptcy of the International" [p. 92], that the Germans "did not betray the spirit of the International" [p. 111] inasmuch as they were prompted by a "bona fide" conviction that they were defending the fatherland. In Kautsky's sanctimonious spirit, but with the addition of Romance eloquence, Barboni declares that the International is ready (after a victory over Germany) to "forgive the Germans as Christ forgave Peter a moment of distrust, to heal by oblivion the deep wounds inflicted by militarist imperialism, and to extend a hand for an honourable and brotherly peace" [p. 113].

A touching picture: Barboni and Kautsky—probably not without the aid of our Kossovsky and Axelrod—forgiving each other!!

Being fully satisfied with Kautsky and Guesde, with Plekhanov and Kropotkin, Barboni is dissatisfied with his own Socialist Labour Party in Italy. In this party, which was fortunate enough prior to the war to rid itself of the reformists, Bissolati and Co., an atmosphere, he complains, was created in which those who, like Barboni, do not agree to the slogan of "absolute neutrality" (*i. e.*, to a determined struggle against those who stand for Italy joining the war) "cannot breathe" [p. 7]. Poor Barboni complains bitterly that men of his kind are labelled in the Italian Socialist Labour Party as "intellectuals," as "individuals who lost contact with the masses," as "people hailing from the bourgeoisie" who "wandered from the straight path of Socialism and internationalism" [p. 7]. "Our party," says Barboni with indignation, "is training fanatics more than it educates the masses" [p. 4].

What an old tune! It is the Italian variation of the well-known tune of Russian Liquidators and opportunists decrying the "demagogy" of the wicked Bolsheviks who "incite" the masses against the dear Socialists from the *Nasha Zarya*, the Organisation Committee, and Chkheidze's fraction! What a valuable admission this is, however, on the part of an Italian social-chauvinist: in the only country where for several months the platforms of the social-chauvinists and of the revolutionary internationalists could be freely discussed, the *working masses*, the *class-conscious* proletariat, have adopted the latter, whereas the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and opportunists have adopted the former.

Neutrality is narrow egotism; it is lack of understanding of the international situation; it is meanness in regard to Belgium; it is "absenteeism," and "those who are absent are always wrong," says Barboni entirely in the spirit of Plekhanov and Axelrod. But since there are two open parties in Italy, one reformist and the other a Social-Democratic labour party, since in that country it is impossible to fool the public by covering up the nudity of Messrs. Potresov, Cherevanin, Levitsky and Co. with the fig-leaf of Chkheidze's fraction or of the Organisation Committee, Barboni openly admits the following:

> From this point of view I see more revolutionism in the activities of the Socialist-reformists who quickly realised the enormous importance that such an overhauling of the political situation [in consequence of a victory over

> German militarism] would have for the future anti-capitalist struggle, and who, in perfect consistency, joined the Triple Entente, than there is in the tactics of the official revolutionary Socialists who, like a turtle, hid under the shell of absolute neutrality [p. 81].

In connection with this valuable admission, it remains for us only to express a wish that some one of the comrades acquainted with the Italian movement should gather and systematically analyse the enormous and most interesting material furnished by Italy's *two parties* as to what social strata, what elements, with whose aid, by which arguments, the revolutionary policy of the Italian proletariat on the one hand and the lackey service to the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie on the other were defended. The more such material is gathered in various countries, the clearer will the truth appear before the class-conscious workers as to the causes and meaning of the collapse of the Second International.

In conclusion, we wish to note that Barboni, facing a workers' party, attempts by means of sophistry to play up to the revolutionary instincts of the workers. The Socialists-internationalists of Italy who are opposed to a war in reality waged for the imperialist interests of the Italian bourgeoisie, appear in his presentation as adherents of cowardly abstinence, of an egotistic desire to hide from the horrors of war. "A people educated in the fear of war horrors," he says, "will probably also be afraid of revolutionary horrors" [p. 83]. Side by side with this loathsome attempt to disguise himself as a revolutionist, we find a crudely practical reference to the "clear" words of Minister Salandra, who said that "order would be maintained at any price," that the attempts at a general strike directed against mobilisation would only lead to "useless slaughter." "We could not prevent the Libyan (Tripolitan) War, less so will we be able to prevent the war with Austria" [p. 82].

Like Kautsky, Cunow, and all the opportunists, Barboni consciously, with the meanest intention of fooling a section of the masses, ascribes to the revolutionists the silly plan to "frustrate the war" "at once," to allow themselves to be shot down in a moment most opportune for the bourgeoisie. He thus attempts to evade the task clearly formulated at Stuttgart and Basle, namely, to utilise the revolutionary crisis for systematic revolutionary propaganda and preparations for revolutionary mass actions. That Europe is passing through a revolutionary moment, Barboni sees quite clearly:

> . . . There is one point [he says] on which I deem it necessary to insist even at the risk of becoming irksome to the reader, because without having a clear idea of that point one cannot correctly estimate the present political situation. The point is that the period we are living through is a catastrophic one, a period of action when there is no longer any question of propounding ideas, of formulating programmes, of defining a line of political behaviour for the future, but of applying a live and active force for achieving results within months, possibly within weeks. Under such conditions, it is no longer a question of philosophising over the future of the proletarian movement, but of consolidating the point of view of the proletariat in face of the present situation [pp. 87-88].

One more sophism under the guise of revolutionism! Forty-four years after the Commune, after half a century of gathering and preparing the mass forces, the revolutionary class of Europe must at the present moment, when Europe is passing through a *catastrophic* period, think of how quickly to become the lackey of its national bourgeoisie, how to help it plunder, violate, ruin, conquer other peoples, and not how to unfold, in mass proportions, a direct revolutionary propaganda, and preparation for revolutionary actions.

N. Lenin.

Kommunist, Nos. 1-2, 1915.

THE FIRST STEP

The development of the international Socialist movement proceeds slowly in the epoch of the immense crisis created by the war. Still it moves in the direction of a break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. This was clearly shown by the International Socialist Conference held at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, between September 5-8, 1915.[186]

For a whole year, a process of vacillation and expectation was manifest among the Socialists of the belligerent and neutral countries: they were afraid to admit to themselves the depth of the crisis; they did not wish to look in the face of reality; they postponed in a thousand ways the inevitable break with opportunism and Kautskyism prevailing in the official parties of Western Europe.

However, that analysis of events which we gave a year ago in the manifesto of the Central Committee (*Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 33) * proved correct; events have proven its correctness; the course of events was such that at the first International Socialist Conference we found representatives of the protesting minority elements of Germany, France, Switzerland, and Norway, acting *against* the decisions of the official parties, *i. e.*, practically acting in a spirit of split.

The work of the Conference is summed up in a manifesto and in a resolution expressing sympathy for those arrested and persecuted. Both documents appear in the present number of the *Sotsial-Demokrat.*** The Conference, by a majority of nineteen against twelve, refused to submit to a commission the draft resolution offered by us and by other revolutionary Marxists; it submitted our draft manifesto to the commission together with the other two drafts for the elaboration of a general manifesto. The reader will find on another page of the present issue both our drafts,*** a comparison of which with the adopted manifesto clearly indicates that a number of fundamental ideas of revolutionary Marxism were adopted.

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* See p. 76.—*Ed.*

** See Appendices: Documents, IV and V.—*Ed.*

*** See Appendices: Documents, VI and VII.—*Ed.*

In practice, the manifesto signifies a step towards an ideological and practical break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. At the same time the manifesto, as its analysis will prove, suffers from inconsistency, and does not say all that should be said.

The manifesto declares that the war is an imperialist one, emphasising two characteristics of imperialism: the desire of the capitalists of *every* nation for profit, for exploitation, and the tendency of the great powers to divide the world and to "enslave" the weak nations. The manifesto repeats the most essential things that must be said of the imperialist character of the war, and that were said in our resolution. In this particular, the manifesto only *popularises* our resolution. Popularisation is undoubtedly a useful thing. However, if we wish clarity for the mind of the working class, if we attach importance to systematic, tenacious propaganda, we must clearly and fully define the principles that must be popularised. Failing this, we run the risk of repeating the error, the sin of the Second International that led to its collapse, namely, leaving room for equivocations and misinterpretations. For instance, is it possible to deny the material importance of the idea that objective conditions for Socialism have become ripe, as expressed in our resolution? In the "popular" exposition of the manifesto, this idea was omitted. The attempt to combine in one document a clear and precise resolution based on principle with an appeal, has failed.

"The capitalists of all countries . . . assert that the war serves to defend the fatherland. . . . They lie . . . ," the manifesto continues. Here again this direct declaration that the fundamental idea of opportunism in the present war, the "defence of the fatherland" idea, is a lie, is a repetition of the most essential idea contained in the resolution of the revolutionary Marxists. And here again it is a pity the manifesto does not say all that should be said. It suffers from timorousness; it is afraid to tell the whole truth. After a year of war, everybody knows now that the real calamity for Socialism was the repetition of the capitalist lies and their support, not only by the capitalist press (it is its business as a capitalist press to repeat the lies of the capitalists), but also by the greater part of the Socialist press. Everybody knows that not the capitalists' lies created the greatest crisis of European Socialism, but the lies of Guesde, Hyndman, Vandervelde, Plekhanov, Kautsky. Everybody knows that the lies of such leaders suddenly revealed the whole strength of opportunism that carried them away at the decisive moment.

The result is this: In order to popularise the idea before the broad masses, the manifesto says that the defence of the fatherland idea in the present war is a capitalist lie. The masses of Europe, however, are not illiterate, and nearly every one who reads the manifesto has heard and is hearing *that same lie* repeated by hundreds of Socialist papers, magazines, pamphlets, by Plekhanov, Hyndman, Kautsky and Co. What will the readers of the manifesto think? What ideas will rise in their heads after this demonstration of timidity by the authors of the manifesto? Do not listen to the capitalist lie of defending the fatherland, the manifesto teaches the workers. Good. Nearly every one will say or think: The lie of the *capitalists* has long stopped bothering us; but how about the lie of Kautsky and Co.?

Further, the manifesto repeats one more essential idea contained in our resolution when it says that the Socialist parties and the workers' organisations of the various countries trampled under foot the obligations flowing from the decisions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle Congresses; that the International Socialist Bureau also *failed to do its duty;* that this failure to do its duty consisted in voting war appropriations, in participating in the cabinets, in recognising "civil peace" (submission to which the manifesto calls *slavish;* in other words, it accuses Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky and Co. of substituting the propaganda of *slavish* ideas for the propaganda of Socialism).

We ask: Is it consistent to speak in a popular manifesto of the failure of a number of parties to do their duty—it is commonly known that reference is made to the strongest parties and the workers' organisations of the most advanced countries: England, France and Germany—without explaining this startling, unheard-of fact? The majority of the Socialist parties and the International Socialist Bureau itself failed to do their duty. What is it: an accident and a bankruptcy of individual persons, or the breaking point of a whole epoch? If it is the former, if *we* circulate such an idea among the masses, it is equivalent to *our* renunciation of the foundations of Socialist doctrine. If it is the latter, how can we fail to say it directly? We are facing a moment of world-wide historic importance—the collapse of the Second International, the breaking point of a whole epoch—and still we are *afraid* to tell the masses that we must look and search for the whole truth, that we must follow our thoughts to the very end. It is preposterous and ridiculous to admit the supposition of the bankruptcy of the International Socialist Bureau and a number of parties *without* connecting this phenomenon with the protracted history of the origin, the growth, the ripening and over-ripening of the general European opportunist movement which has deep economic roots—deep not in the sense that they are inseparable from the masses, but in the sense that they are connected with a definite stratum of society.

Passing to the "struggle for peace," the manifesto declares: "This struggle is the struggle for freedom, for the reconciliation of peoples, for Socialism." Further, it explains that, in the war, the workers make sacrifices in "the service of the ruling classes," whereas they must know how to make sacrifices "*for* [*their*] *own cause*" (twice underscored in the manifesto), "for the sacred aims of Socialism." * The resolution expressing sympathy for the arrested and persecuted fighters says that "the Conference solemnly vows to honour the living and dead by *following the example* of these brave fighters" and that its aim will be to awaken "the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the international proletariat." **

All these ideas are a repetition of the fundamental idea of our resolution that a struggle for peace *without* revolutionary struggle is an empty and false phrase, that the only way to put an end to the horrors of war is a revolutionary struggle for Socialism. But here also we find inconsistency, timidity, failure to say everything that ought to be said: The resolution calls the masses to *follow the example* of the revolutionary fighters; it declares that the five members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction sentenced to exile in Siberia continued "the glorious revolutionary tradition of Russia"; it proclaims the necessity of awakening the revolutionary spirit, and at the same time *it does not name* directly, openly and clearly the revolutionary methods of struggle.

Was our Central Committee right in signing this manifesto, suffering as it does from lack of consistency, and from timidity? We think so. That we disagree, that not only our Central Committee but the whole international Left Wing section of the Conference adhering to the principles of revolutionary Marxism disagrees, is only expressed both in a special resolution, in a separate draft manifesto

* See Appendices: Documents, IV.—*Ed.*

** See Appendices: Documents, V.—*Ed.*

and in a separate declaration on the motives of voting for a compromise manifesto. We did not hide one iota of our views, slogans, tactics. The German edition of our pamphlet, *Socialism and War*,* was distributed at the Conference. We have broadcasted, are broadcasting, and shall broadcast our views with no less energy than the manifesto. That this manifesto is taking a *step forward* towards a real struggle against opportunism, towards breaking and splitting with it, is a fact. It would be sectarianism to refuse to take this step *together* with the minority of the German, French, Swedish, Norwegian, Swiss Socialists when we retain full freedom and a full possibility to criticise inconsistency and to struggle for more.** It would be bad military tactics to refuse to move together with a growing international protest movement against social-chauvinism because this movement is slow, because it takes only one step forward, because it is ready and willing to take a step backward to-morrow, to make peace with the old International Socialist Bureau. Its readiness to make peace with the opportunists is so far only a wish. Will the opportunists agree to peace? Is peace objectively possible between the currents which are splitting deeper and deeper—social-chauvinism and Kautskyism on the one side, revolutionary internationalist Marxism on the other side? We think it is impossible, and we shall continue our line, encouraged as we are by its *success* at the Conference of September 5-8.

For the success of our line is undoubted. Compare the facts: In September, 1914, the manifesto of our Central Committee *** appears to be almost unique. In January, 1915, an international women's conference adopts a miserable pacifist resolution which is blindly followed by the Organisation Committee. In September, 1915, we consolidate ourselves into a whole group of the international Left Wing. We promulgate our tactics; we express a number of our fundamental ideas in a common manifesto; we participate in the formation of an I. S. C. (International Socialist Commission),

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* See pp. 215-258.—*Ed.*

** That the Organisation Committee and the Socialists-Revolutionists signed the manifesto as diplomats, retaining at the same time their bonds with—and all their *bondage* to—the *Nasha Zarya*, Rubanovich, and the July, 1915, Conference of the People's Socialists and the Socialists-Revolutionists in Russia,[187] does not frighten us. We have means enough to fight against rotten diplomacy and unmask it. It unmasks itself more and more. The *Nasha Zarya* and Chkheidze's fraction help us unmask Axelrod and Co.

*** See p. 76.—*Ed.*

i. e., practically a new International Socialist Bureau against the wish of the old one, and on the basis of the manifesto which directly condemns the tactics of the latter.

The workers of Russia whose overwhelming majority followed our party and its Central Committee even in 1912-1914, will now see through the experience of the international Socialist movement that our tactics are being confirmed in a wider arena, that our fundamental ideas are shared by the ever larger and better part of the proletarian International.

Sotsial-Demokrat, Nos. 45-46, October 11, 1915.

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE, SEPTEMBER 5-8, 1915

THE ideological struggle at the Conference was waged between a solid group of internationalists, revolutionary Marxists, and the vacillating near-Kautskyists who formed the Right Wing of the Conference. The solidification of the above group is one of the most important facts and one of the greatest achievements of the Conference. After a whole year of war, the *only* current in the International which came out with a perfectly definite resolution and also with a draft manifesto based on it, and which united the consistent Marxists of Russia, Poland, the Lettish province, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and Holland, proved to be the current that was represented by our party.

What arguments were advanced against us by the vacillating elements? The Germans admitted that we are heading for revolutionary battles, but they said one must not trumpet to the whole world about such things as fraternisation in the trenches, political strikes, street demonstrations, civil war. This is being done, they said, but it is not being talked of. Others added that this is childishness, that this means inciting to futile revolts.

The German semi-Kautskyists punished themselves for these almost ridiculously, almost indecently contradictory and evasive speeches when they adopted an expression of sympathy for, and a declaration of the necessity to "follow the example" of, the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction who were engaged in spreading our central organ, the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, which "trumpeted to the whole world" about civil war.

You follow the bad example of Kautsky, we said to the Germans: In words, you recognise the coming revolution; in practice, you refuse to tell the masses directly about it, to call for it, to map out the most concrete means of struggle which the masses are testing and adopting in the course of the revolution. Marx and Engels, in 1847, while living *abroad*—the German philistines were horrified to think that they spoke of revolutionary methods of struggle *from abroad!*—appealed for revolution; they openly and directly spoke of applying force; they called contemptible the attempt to hide revolutionary aims, tasks and methods of struggle (the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party*). The 1848 Revolution proved that Marx and Engels *alone* had approached the events with correct tactics. Several years before the 1905 Revolution in Russia, Plekhanov, then still a Marxist, wrote in the old *Iskra* of 1901, in an unsigned article which expressed the views of all the editors, about the coming insurrection and about such ways of preparing it as street demonstrations, even about such technical devices as using wire in the fight against cavalry.[188] The revolution in Russia proved that only the old Iskraists had approached the events with correct tactics. Now we are faced with this alternative: Either we are really and firmly convinced that the war is creating a revolutionary situation in Europe, that all the economic and socio-political circumstances of the imperialist epoch lead up to a revolution of the proletariat—then it is our bounden duty to explain to the masses the necessity of a revolution, to appeal for it, to create befitting organisations, to speak fearlessly and in the most concrete manner of the various methods of forceful struggle and of its "technique," this bounden duty of ours being independent of whether the revolution will be strong enough and whether it will come in connection with the first or second imperialist war, etc.; or we are not convinced that the situation is revolutionary, then there is no reason why we should use the words "war against war" in vain, and then we are in fact national-liberal labour politicians of the Südekum-Plekhanov or Kautsky variety.

The French delegates also declared that in their judgment the present situation in Europe will lead to revolution. "But," they said, "first, we did not come here to give a formula for the Third International; second," they said, "the French worker believes nobody and nothing; he is demoralised and over-sated with Anarchist and Hervé phrases." The first argument is meaningless, since the joint compromise manifesto *does* "give a formula" for the Third International, though an inconsistent one, where not all is said that ought to be said, and not all thoughts are followed to their logical conclusions. The second argument is very important as a very serious factual argument that takes stock of the peculiar situation in France, not in the sense of defence of the fatherland or enemy invasion, but in noting the sore spots of the French labour movement. What follows from this, however, is only that the French

Socialists would, *more slowly* than others, join the general European revolutionary action of the proletariat. It does not follow, however, that such action is unnecessary. The question as to *how rapidly*, in which ways, in which particular forms, the proletariat of the various countries is capable of passing to revolutionary action was not and could not have been raised at the Conference. There is no data for this as yet. Our task for the present is jointly to *preach* the right tactics, leaving it to events to show the tempo of the movement, and the changes in the general trend according to nation, locality and trade. If the French proletariat has been demoralised by Anarchist phrases, it has also been demoralised by Millerandism, and it is not our task to *increase* this demoralisation by any *omissions* in the manifesto that render it obscure.

It was none other than Merrheim who dropped a characteristic and profoundly correct phrase: "The [Socialist] Party, Jouhaux [secretary of the General Confederation of Labour], and the government, are three heads under one bonnet," he said. This is correct; this is a fact proven by a year's experience of the fight of the French internationalists against the party and the Messrs. Jouhaux. But there is only one way out of this: One cannot fight against the government without fighting against the opportunist parties and the chiefs of Anarcho-syndicalism. The tasks of this struggle, however, were only indicated in the joint manifesto in contrast to our resolution; they were not definitely outlined.

One of the Italians, in arguing against our tactics, said: "Your tactics come either too late" (since the war has already begun) "or too early" (because the war has not yet created conditions for a revolution); "besides," he said, "you propose a 'change in the programme' of the International, since all our propaganda has been conducted 'against force.'" It was very easy for us to reply to this by quoting Jules Guesde from *En Garde* [*On Guard*] [189] to the effect that not a single influential leader of the Second International was opposed to the use of force and to direct revolutionary methods in general. At all times, every one said that struggle within legal limits, parliamentarism and insurrection are interconnected, and *must inevitably* succeed each other according to changes in the conditions of the movement. From the same book, *En Garde*, we quoted a paragraph from a speech delivered by Guesde in 1899, where he spoke of the possibility of a war for markets, colonies, etc., noting here that if in such a war there were in existence French, German and English Millerands, then "what would become of the international solidarity of the proletariat?" In this speech Guesde condemned himself in advance. As to the untimeliness of preaching revolution, this objection rests on a confusion of terms customary with the Romance Socialists: They confuse the beginning of a revolution with its open and direct propaganda. In Russia, nobody places the beginning of the 1905 Revolution before January 22, 1905, whereas the revolutionary propaganda, in the narrow sense of the word, the propaganda and the preparation of mass action, demonstrations, strikes, barricades, had been conducted for *years* before that. The old *Iskra*, for instance, preached this from the end of 1900, as did Marx from 1847 when there could have been no thought as yet about the *beginning of a revolution* in Europe.

After the revolution has begun, it is "recognised" by its liberal and other enemies; they often recognise it in order to deceive and betray it. The revolutionists, in foreseeing a revolution *prior* to its coming, realise its inevitability, make the masses understand its necessity, explain to the masses its course and methods.

It was the irony of history that Kautsky and his friends, who had directly tried to force out of Grimm's hands the convocation of the Conference, who had directly attempted to break up the Conference of the Left Wing (Kautsky's nearest friends even made trips for this purpose, as disclosed by Grimm at the Conference), were the ones who pushed the Conference *to the left.* The opportunists and the Kautskyists, by *their* practices, show the correctness of the position taken by our party.

Sotsial-Demokrat, Nos. 45-46, October 11, 1915.

TRUE INTERNATIONALISTS: KAUTSKY, AXELROD, AND MARTOV

SHORTLY before the Zimmerwald Conference, there appeared in Zurich in the German language a pamphlet by P. Axelrod, entitled *Die Krise und die Aufgaben der internationalen Sozialdemokratie* [*The Crisis and the Tasks of International Social-Democracy*].[190] The Zurich paper, the *Volksrecht,* subsequently published two articles by L. Martov praising the pamphlet. We do not know whether both these authors will publish those works in Russian. It is difficult to find a better illustration of how the leaders of the Organisation Committee defend opportunism and social-chauvinism.

Throughout the whole pamphlet runs like a red thread the struggle against "dangers threatening party unity." "Split and chaos," this is what Axelrod is afraid of; this is what he endlessly repeats *ad nauseam.* Do not imagine, however, that it is the present state of affairs in the Social-Democracy, the present alliance of its leaders with their respective national bourgeoisie that appears to Axelrod as chaos and split. No! Chaos in Axelrod's opinion is the drawing of a clear line of demarcation between true Socialists and social-chauvinists. Kautsky is classed by Axelrod among comrades "whose international feelings and consciousness are beyond any doubt." Still, throughout all the forty-six pages of the pamphlet there is not the shadow of an attempt to reduce Kautsky's views to a unit, to quote them correctly, to see whether the recognition of the defence of the fatherland idea in the present war does not imply chauvinism. Not a word about our arguments. What we find there is a "report to authorities." Lenin, he writes, in the course of a lecture delivered in Zurich, called Kautsky chauvinist, philistine, traitor [p. 21]. Dear Martov and Axelrod, this is not literature any more, this is "a police report"!

"In the West," the pamphlet says, "we do not find that variety of supermen who utilise every party crisis, every difficult situation to step forth in the role of the sole saviours of the party from destruction, and light-heartedly to conduct an inner party policy of chaos and disorganisation" [pp. 21 and 22]. Is this literature?

But if there are no such supermonsters "in the West" who dare consider Kautsky and Axelrod as chauvinists and opportunists, the very thought of which makes dear Axelrod tremble with rage and emit floods of such graceful and fragrant lyrics, how could Axelrod write two pages earlier:

> Considering the revolt that is growing in ever larger party circles, especially in Germany and France, against the policy of "seeing it through" that is followed by our responsible party organs, it is by no means impossible that the practical tendencies of the Leninist propaganda may, through various channels, penetrate the ranks of Western Social-Democracy.

That being the case, it does not seem that the guilt is with the genuine Russian supermonsters who flay dear Axelrod! It appears that the international chauvinism of the official parties—both in Germany and France, according to the admission of Axelrod himself! note this—calls forth a revolt and a resistance on the part of international revolutionary Social-Democracy. Consequently, we have two currents. Both are international. Axelrod is angry and scolds us because he does not understand the inevitability of both currents, the inevitability of a decisive struggle between them, also because it hurts his conscience and sensibilities, and it is of disadvantage for him openly to avow his own position, which consists of a desire to *appear* international while *being* chauvinist.

"The problem of internationalising the labour movement is not identical with the question of revolutionising our forms and methods of struggle," he says; it is, don't you see, "an ideological explanation" when one reduces everything to opportunism and ignores the "tremendous force" of patriotic ideas which are "the product of thousand-year-old historical processes"; "one must therefore," he continues, "strive to create within the framework of this bourgeois society an actual *reality* [Axelrod's italics], objective conditions of existence, at least for the struggling masses of workers, which can weaken the above-mentioned dependence," namely, "the dependence of the masses upon the historically formed national and territorial commonwealths." "For instance," Axelrod illustrates his profound idea, "labour protection and labour insurance legislation, as well as various other important political demands, also cultural and educational needs and strivings of the workers, must become the object of their *international* [Axelrod's italics] actions and organisations." Everything, he says, reduces itself to "internationalising the everyday struggle for the demands of the moment."

This is certainly lovely, unlike the struggle against opportunism invented by some supermonsters! True internationalism in italics and true "Marxism" apart from "ideological" explanations consist in caring for the internationalisation of insurance legislation! Capital! It is the idea of a genius. Without any "struggle, splits, chaos," all international opportunists or international liberals, from Lloyd George to Friedrich Naumann and from Leroy Beaulieu to Milyukov, Struve and Guchkov, will eagerly subscribe to this scientific, profound, objective "internationalism" of Axelrod, Martov, Kautsky.

Real gems of "internationalism"! Kautsky says: If I defend my fatherland in the imperialist war, *i. e.*, the war for the plunder and enslavement of other countries, and recognise for the workers of other belligerent countries the right to defend their fatherland, this is true internationalism. Axelrod says: One must not be carried away by "ideological" attacks on opportunism, but one must carry on a practical struggle against thousand-year-old nationalism by means of (also a thousand years old) internationalisation of everyday work in the realm of insurance laws. Martov agrees with Axelrod.

Axelrod's phrases about thousand-year-old roots of nationalism, etc., have about as much political meaning as the declarations of the Russian slaveholders prior to 1861 about thousand-year-old roots of bondage. Those phrases are grist to the mill of the reactionaries and the bourgeoisie, since Axelrod fails to mention, modestly fails to mention, that decades of capitalist development, particularly after 1871, have created those *objective* international connections between the proletarians of all countries which just now, just at the present juncture, must be expressed in international revolutionary action. Axelrod is against such action. He is in favour of referring to the thousand-year-old roots of the knout, but he is against action directed towards destroying the knout!

But how about proletarian revolution? The 1912 Basle Manifesto speaks about it in connection with this coming war, which actually broke out two years later. Perhaps Axelrod considers this manifesto, also, to be a light-hearted "ideology"—what an expression! It is entirely in the spirit of Struve's and Cunow's "Marxism"!—for he says not a word about it. As to the revolution, he dismisses it in the following way:

> The tendency to view stormy revolutionary mass actions or uprisings as the sole and only lever to overcome nationalism, would have some justification if we were on the eve of a social revolution, in the very same way, for instance, as was the case in Russia beginning with the student demonstrations of 1901 which were the precursors of the approaching decisive battles against absolutism. But even those comrades who place all their hopes in a speedy beginning of a stormy revolutionary period do not risk asserting definitely that the decisive conflict of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is imminent. On the contrary, they also count on a period lasting decades [p. 41].

There follow thunders against the "Utopia" and against the "Bakuninists" among the Russian political exiles, as was to be expected.

This example, chosen by Axelrod, exposes our opportunist excellently. Could anybody, without losing his mind, "definitely assert" in 1901 that the "decisive struggle" against absolutism in Russia was "imminent"? Nobody could do so, nobody said so. Nobody could know at that time that *four years later* one of the decisive battles (December, 1905) was to come, and that the following "decisive" battle against absolutism was to happen perhaps in 1915-1916, perhaps even later.

If nobody asserted in 1901, either definitely or in any other way, that a decisive battle was "imminent," if we asserted at that time that the "hysterical" yells of Krichevsky, Martynov and Co. about an "imminent" battle lacked seriousness, we revolutionary Social-Democrats at that time positively asserted one thing only: We asserted, namely, that only hopeless opportunists could fail to understand in 1901 the task of *actively supporting* the revolutionary demonstrations of 1901, encouraging them, developing them, advancing for them the most decisive revolutionary slogans. History has proven that we, only we, were correct; history has condemned the opportunists, and has cast them out of the labour movement, although no decisive battle was "imminent" at that time, although the first decisive battle took place only four years later and still proved to be not the last, *i. e.*, not the decisive battle.

The same thing, absolutely the same, is being experienced in Europe to-day. There can be not the shadow of a doubt that there is a revolutionary situation in the Europe of 1915, as there was in the Russia of 1901. We cannot know whether the first "decisive" battle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie will take place in four years, in two years, in ten or more years, we cannot know whether the second "decisive" battle will take place decades later, but we do know decidedly and we assert "definitely" that it is at present our direct and urgent duty to support the rising unrest and the demonstrations that have *already* begun. It is a fact that in Germany a crowd jeered Scheidemann; that in many countries crowds demonstrated against the high cost of living. Axelrod evades this direct and absolute duty of Social-Democrats; Axelrod dissuades the workers from fulfilling it. The actual sum and substance of Axelrod's arguments is this, that he is, *together* with the leaders of social-patriotism and social-chauvinism, *against* the immediate propaganda in favour of, and against preparations for, revolutionary action. This is the main thing. All the rest is just words.

We are undoubtedly on the eve of a Socialist revolution. This was recognised by ultra-cautious theorists, like Kautsky, as early as 1909 (*Der Weg zur Macht*) ; this was recognised in the unanimously adopted Basle Manifesto in 1912. As we did not know in 1901 whether the "eve" of the first Russian revolution would last four years, so we do not know at present. The revolution may and probably will consist of long battles lasting many years, of several onslaughts with intermissions when the bourgeois order will be in counter-revolutionary convulsions. The main issue of the present political situation reduces itself entirely to the question whether one must utilise the already existing revolutionary situation by supporting and developing *revolutionary* movements. Yes or no? This is a question that at present divides, politically, the social-chauvinists and the revolutionary internationalists. And it is in this question that Kautsky, Axelrod, and Martov are on the side of the social-chauvinists despite their revolutionary phrases, as well as the phrases of the five foreign secretaries of the Organisation Committee.

Axelrod applies a very prodigious phraseology to cover up his defence of social-chauvinism. His pamphlet may serve as an example of how one can cover up opinions, how one can utilise the language and the printed word to hide ideas. Axelrod declines the word internationalism a number of times. He disapproves both of the social-patriots and their friends for not wanting to move to the left; he hints that he is "to the left" of Kautsky; he speaks of the necessity of organising the Third International, which, he says, ought to be so strong as to meet the attempts of the bourgeoisie to kindle a world war conflagration "not with threats but with the unleashing of a revolutionary storm" [p. 14], and so forth and so on without end. In words Axelrod is ready to recognise anything, including a revolutionary storm; in reality he wishes unity with Kautsky and consequently with Scheidemann in Germany, with the chauvinist and counter-revolutionary *Nashe Dyelo,* with Chkheidze's fraction in Russia; in reality he is *against* supporting and developing *at present the incipient revolutionary movement.* In words everything, in deeds nothing. In words he swears high and low that we are "internationalists" and revolutionists; in deeds he supports the social-chauvinists and opportunists of the whole world in their struggle against the revolutionary internationalists.

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A FEW THESES

PROPOSED BY THE EDITORS

MATERIAL published in this issue * shows the great extent of the work undertaken by the St. Petersburg Committee of our party. For Russia, and for the whole International, this is a real model of Social-Democratic work during a reactionary war and under most difficult conditions. The workers of St. Petersburg and Russia will support that work with all their power and will advance it more energetically, forcefully, broadly, along the same road.

Taking into account the advice of our comrades living in Russia, we hereby formulate a few theses relative to the current problems of Social-Democratic work. (1) The slogan of a "Constitutional Assembly," as an independent slogan, is incorrect because the question *now* is who will convoke it. The liberals accepted that slogan in 1905 because it *could* have been interpreted as meaning that it would be convoked by the Tsar and would be in agreement with him. The most correct slogans are the "three pillars" ** (democratic republic, confiscation of the landowners' land, and an eight-hour work-day) coupled with an added appeal (*cf.* No. 9) calling for international solidarity of the workers in the struggle for Socialism, for a revolutionary overthrow of the belligerent governments and against the war. (2) We are against participation in the war industries committees that help conduct the imperialist reactionary war. We are for utilising the election campaign; we are, for instance, for participating in the first stage of the elections with propaganda and organisation aims *only*. There can be no question of boycotting the Imperial Duma. Participation in the by-elections is *absolutely necessary*. As long as there are no Deputies from our party in the Imperial Duma, we must utilise everything that is happening in the Duma to advance the aims of revolutionary Social-Democracy. (3) We consider the most timely and urgent tasks to be the strengthening and widening of Social-Democratic work among the proletariat, and then the spreading of it to the village proletariat, to the village poor, and to the army. The most urgent task of revolutionary Social-Democracy is to develop the strike movement already begun, to conduct it under the slogan of the "three pillars." Agitation must give considerable space to the demand of stopping the war immediately. Among other demands, the workers must not forget to demand the immediate return of the workers' Deputies, the members of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Fraction. (4) Soviets of Workers' Deputies, etc., must be looked upon as organs of insurrection, as organs of revolutionary power. Only in connection with the development of a mass strike of a political nature, and with an insurrection, in the measure as it is being prepared, is developing and succeeding, can such institutions be of lasting value. (5) The social essence of the coming revolution in Russia can be only a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. A revolution cannot be victorious in Russia without overthrowing the monarchy and the serf-holding landowners. They cannot be overthrown without the peasantry supporting the proletariat. The measure undertaken to divide the village into "farmer landowners" and village proletarians has not abolished the oppression of the village by Markovs and Co. For a *separate* organisation of the village *proletarians,* we have stood, and stand unconditionally, under all circumstances. (6) It is the task of the proletariat of Russia to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia in order to kindle a Socialist revolution in Europe. This second task has come close to the first, still it remains a separate and a second task, since it is a question of the *different classes* who collaborate with the proletariat of Russia: For the first task, the collaborators are the petty-bourgeois peasantry of Russia, for the second, it is the proletariat of other countries. (7) Participation of the Social-Democrats in a Provisional Revolutionary Government together with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, we, as heretofore, consider admissible, but *not* with the revolutionary chauvinists. (8) Revolutionary chauvinists are, in our opinion, those who wish a victory over tsarism for the sake of a victory over Germany, for the freedom of plundering other countries, for strengthening the domination of the Great-Russians over the other peoples of Russia, etc. The foundation of revolutionary chauvinism is the class situation of the petty-bourgeoisie. The latter is always vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At present it is vacillating between chauvinism (which prevents it from being consistently revolutionary even concerning the demands of a democratic revolution) and proletarian internationalism. Politically, the spokesmen of this petty bourgeoisie in Russia at the present moment are the Trudoviks, the Socialists-Revolutionists, the *Nasha Zarya*, Chkheidze's fraction, the Organisation Committee, Mr. Plekhanov, and the like. (9) If the revolutionary chauvinists were victorious in Russia, we would be against the defence of their "fatherland" in the present war. Our slogan is against the chauvinists, even if revolutionary and republican—against them, and for a union of the international proletariat for a Socialist revolution. (10) The question whether the proletariat can assume the leading role in the bourgeois Russian Revolution, we answer in the affirmative: This is possible if the petty bourgeoisie will sway to the left at the decisive moment. The petty bourgeoisie is pushed leftward not only by our propaganda, but by a number of objective factors, economic, financial (war burden), military, political, and others. (11) The question as to what the party of the proletariat would do if the revolution placed power in its hands in the present war, we answer thus: We would offer peace to *all* the belligerents on the basis of freeing the colonies and *all* the dependent and oppressed peoples deprived of full rights. Under the present governments, neither Germany nor England nor France would accept it. If so, we would have to prepare and conduct a revolutionary war, *i. e.*, we would not only realise, by decisive means, the whole of our minimum programme to its full extent, but we would also systematically arouse to insurrection all the peoples now oppressed by the Great-Russians, all the colonies and dependent countries in Asia (India, China, Persia, etc.) and also, in the first place, we would arouse to insurrection the Socialist proletariat of Europe against its governments and in spite of its social-chauvinists. There is no doubt that a victory of the proletariat in Russia would create unusually favourable conditions for the development of the revolution both in Asia and in Europe. Even 1905 proved that. International solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat is *a fact* in spite of the filthy scum of opportunism and chauvinism.

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* *Sotsial-Demokrat.—Ed.*

** Lenin wrote "three whales," an allusion to the epic Russian expression that the earth rests on three whales.—*Ed.*

Advancing these theses for an exchange of opinions with the comrades, we shall expound our views in detail in the forthcoming issues of the Central Organ.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 47, October 13, 1915.

TWO LINES OF THE REVOLUTION

In the *Prizyv* [*Call*] (No. 3) Mr. Plekhanov attempts to tackle a fundamental theoretical problem—that of the coming revolution in Russia.[191] He quotes a paragraph from Marx to the effect that the 1789 Revolution in France advanced on an ascending line, whereas the 1848 Revolution advanced on a descending line. In the first instance, power passed gradually from a moderate to a more radical party: Constitutionalists, Girondists, Jacobins. In the second instance, the reverse took place: proletariat, petty-bourgeois democrats, bourgeois republicans, Napoleon III. "It is desirable," concludes our author, "to direct the Russian Revolution along an ascending line," meaning thereby that power should first pass to the Constitutional-Democrats and Octobrists, then to the Trudoviks, then to the Socialists. The conclusion from this reasoning is, of course, that the Left Wing in Russia is unwise when it does not wish to support the Cadets, when it discredits them prematurely.

This "theoretical" reasoning of Mr. Plekhanov's is one more example of substituting liberalism for Marxism. Mr. Plekhanov reduces the problem to whether the "strategic conceptions" of the advanced elements were "correct" or incorrect. Marx reasoned differently. He pointed to the fact that in each case the revolution progressed differently, but he sought *the explanations* of this difference *not* in "strategic conceptions." From the point of view of Marxism it is ridiculous to seek it in conceptions. It must be sought in the difference of the *inter-relation of classes.* The same Marx wrote that in 1789 the bourgeoisie of France joined the peasantry, that, on the contrary, in 1848 the petty-bourgeois democracy betrayed the proletariat. Mr. Plekhanov knows this opinion of Marx, but he does not mention it, for he wishes to disguise Marx "Struve fashion." The problem of France in 1789 was to overthrow absolutism and nobility. On the then existing level of economic and political development, the bourgeoisie believed in the harmony of interests. It was not afraid to lose its domination, and therefore it agreed to a union with the peasantry. This union secured a complete victory of the revolution. The problem of 1848 was the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. The latter failed to attract the petty bourgeoisie, whose betrayal caused the defeat of the revolution. The ascending line of 1789 was a form of revolution where the mass of the people defeated absolutism. The descending line of 1848 was a form of revolution where the betrayal of the proletariat by the mass of the petty bourgeoisie caused the defeat of the revolution.

Mr. Plekhanov substituted cheap idealism for Marxism when he reduced the question to "strategic conceptions" and not to the interrelation of classes.

The experience of the 1905 Revolution and of subsequent counter-revolution in Russia tells us that there were *two* lines of revolution in our country in that there was a struggle of two classes, the proletariat and the liberal bourgeoisie, for a leading influence over the masses. The proletariat advanced in a revolutionary way, leading the democratic peasantry to overthrow the monarchy and the landowners. That the peasantry manifested revolutionary tendencies in a democratic sense is proven by the *mass* proportions of *all* the great political events: the peasant insurrections of 1905-1906, the military unrest of the same years, the Peasants' Union of 1905, the two first Dumas where *peasant* Trudoviks appeared not only "to the left of the Cadets," but were also *more revolutionary* than the intellectual *Socialists-Revolutionists* and Trudoviks. Unfortunately, this is often forgotten, but it is a fact. Both in the Third and in the Fourth Dumas, the *peasant* Trudoviks, in spite of their weakness, showed that the peasant masses were *against* the landowners.

The first line of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution, taken as events and not as "strategic" chatter, consisted in the fact that the proletariat fought decisively, the peasantry followed it indecisively. Both classes fought against the monarchy and the landowners. The lack of power and decisiveness on the part of the two classes caused their defeat, though a partial breach in absolutism was accomplished nevertheless.

The second line was the behaviour of the liberal bourgeoisie. We Bolsheviks always asserted, especially beginning with the spring of 1906, that the liberal bourgeoisie is represented by the Cadets and Octobrists *as a single force*. The decade 1905-1915 proved the correctness of our view. At the decisive moments of the struggle, the Cadets, together with the Octobrists, betrayed democracy, and aided the Tsar and the landowners. The "liberal" line of the Russian Revolution consisted in "pacifying" and splitting the fight of the masses in order to make peace between the bourgeoisie and the monarchy. Both the international background of the Russian Revolution and the power of the Russian proletariat made such behaviour of the liberals inevitable.

The Bolsheviks consciously aided the proletariat to follow the first line, to fight with unswerving bravery and to lead the peasants. The Mensheviks always rolled down to the second line, demoralising the proletariat by adapting its movement to the liberals, beginning with the invitation to go into the Bulygin Duma (August, 1905) and down to a Cadet cabinet in 1906 and a bloc with the Cadets *against* democracy in 1907. (From Mr. Plekhanov's point of view, let us observe parenthetically, the "correct strategic conceptions" of the Cadets and the Mensheviks suffered a defeat at that time. Why? Why did not the masses follow the wise advices of Mr. Plekhanov and the Cadets which were broadcasted a hundred times more extensively than the advice of the Bolsheviks?)

Only those currents, that of the Bolsheviks and that of the Mensheviks, manifested themselves in the politics of the *masses* in 1904-1908, as well as later in 1908-1914. Why? Because only those currents had firm class roots, the proletariat in the first case, the liberal bourgeoisie in the second.

Now we once more advance towards revolution. Everybody sees that. *Khvostov himself* says that the mood of the peasants is reminiscent of 1905-1906. And again we see the same two lines of the revolution, the same interrelation of classes, only modified by a changed international background. In 1905 the whole European bourgeoisie was for tsarism, aiding it either with billions, like the French, or by preparing a counter-revolutionary army, like the Germans. In 1914, the European War flared up; the bourgeoisie everywhere temporarily conquered the proletariat, sweeping it into the muddy stream of nationalism and chauvinism. In Russia, the petty-bourgeois masses of the people, in the first place the peasantry, form, as heretofore, the majority of the population. They are oppressed, in the first place, by the landowners. They are partly dormant politically, partly they waver between chauvinism ("Defeat Germany," "Defend the fatherland") and revolutionism. The political expression of these masses—and of their waverings—are, on the one hand, the Narodniks (the Trudoviks and Socialists-Revolutionists), on the other hand, the opportunist Social-Democrats (the *Nashe Dyelo,* Plekhanov, Chkheidze's fraction, the Organisation

Committee) who, beginning from 1910, started a decisive downward movement towards a liberal labour policy, and in 1915 sank to the social-chauvinism of Messrs. Potresov, Cherevanin, Levitsky, Maslov, or to a demand of "unity" with them.

The task of the proletariat follows from this state of affairs with perfect clarity. The task is an unswervingly brave revolutionary struggle against the monarchy (utilising the slogans of the January, 1912, Conference, the "three pillars"), a struggle which sweeps in its wake all the democratic masses, the peasantry in the first place. At the same time, a merciless struggle against chauvinism, a struggle for a Socialist revolution in Europe, in alliance with its proletariat. The waverings of the petty bourgeoisie are not accidental but inevitable, following, as they do, from its class position. The military crisis has *strengthened* the economic and political factors which force it, including the peasantry, towards the left. This is the objective foundation for the full possibility of a complete victory of a democratic revolution in Russia. That objective conditions in Western Europe are ripe for a Socialist revolution we need not prove here, as this was recognised prior to the war by all influential Socialists in all advanced countries.

To make clear the interrelation of classes in the coming revolution is the main task of a revolutionary party. This task is evaded by the Organisation Committee, which in Russia remains a faithful ally of the *Nashe Dyelo*, whereas abroad it throws out meaningless "Left" phrases. This task is incorrectly solved in the *Nashe Slovo* by Trotsky, who repeats his "original" 1905 theory without stopping to think why life, during a whole decade, has passed by this beautiful theory.

Trotsky's original theory takes from the Bolsheviks their appeal to decisive revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and to the conquest of political power by it; from the Mensheviks it takes the "negation" of the role of the peasantry. The peasantry, it says, has become differentiated, divided into strata; its possible revolutionary role has dwindled more and more; a "national" revolution is impossible in Russia; "we live in the era of imperialism," says Trotsky, and "imperialism does not oppose the bourgeois nation to the old regime; on the contrary, it opposes the proletariat to the bourgeois nation."

Here we have an amusing example of playing with that little word, "imperialism." If *in Russia* the proletariat is already opposed to the "bourgeois nation," then it means that Russia is facing a *Socialist* revolution! Then the slogan about "confiscating the *landowners'* land" (repeated by Trotsky in 1915, after the January Conference of 1912) is incorrect; then we must speak, not of the "revolutionary labour" but of a "revolutionary *Socialist* government!" To what limits Trotsky's confusion goes is evident from his phrase that by its decisiveness the proletariat will stimulate also the "*non*-proletarian [!] popular masses" (No. 217)! Trotsky did not think that once the proletariat leads the non-proletarian masses to confiscate the landowners' lands and to overthrow the monarchy, that would be a completion of the "national bourgeois revolution" in Russia, that would be a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry!

The whole decade—the great decade—of 1905-1915 proved the existence of two and only two class lines of the Russian Revolution. The differentiation of the peasantry increased the class-struggle within it; it wakened very many hitherto politically dormant elements; it drew the agricultural proletariat nearer to the urban proletariat (that a *separate* organisation of the former is necessary, the Bolsheviks insisted since 1906; they included this demand in the resolution of the Stockholm Menshevik Congress). But the antagonism between the peasantry on the one hand, the Markovs, Romanovs, Khvostovs on the other, has become stronger, has grown, has sharpened. This is such an obvious truth that thousands of phrases in scores of Trotsky's Paris articles will not "refute" it. In practice, Trotsky aids the liberal labour politicians in Russia who by the "negation" of the role of the peasantry understand a refusal to arouse the peasants to a revolution!

This, however, is the core of the question at present. The proletariat is fighting, and will valiantly fight, for the conquest of power, for a republic, for land confiscation, which means for attracting the peasantry, for making *full* use of its revolutionary powers, for the participation of the "*non*-proletarian peoples' masses" in freeing *bourgeois* Russia from *military feudal* imperialism (tsarism). This liberation of bourgeois Russia from tsarism, from the land power of the landowners, the proletariat will immediately utilise not to aid the prosperous peasants in their struggle against the village worker, but to complete a Socialist revolution in alliance with the proletarians of Europe.

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REACHING THEIR LIMIT

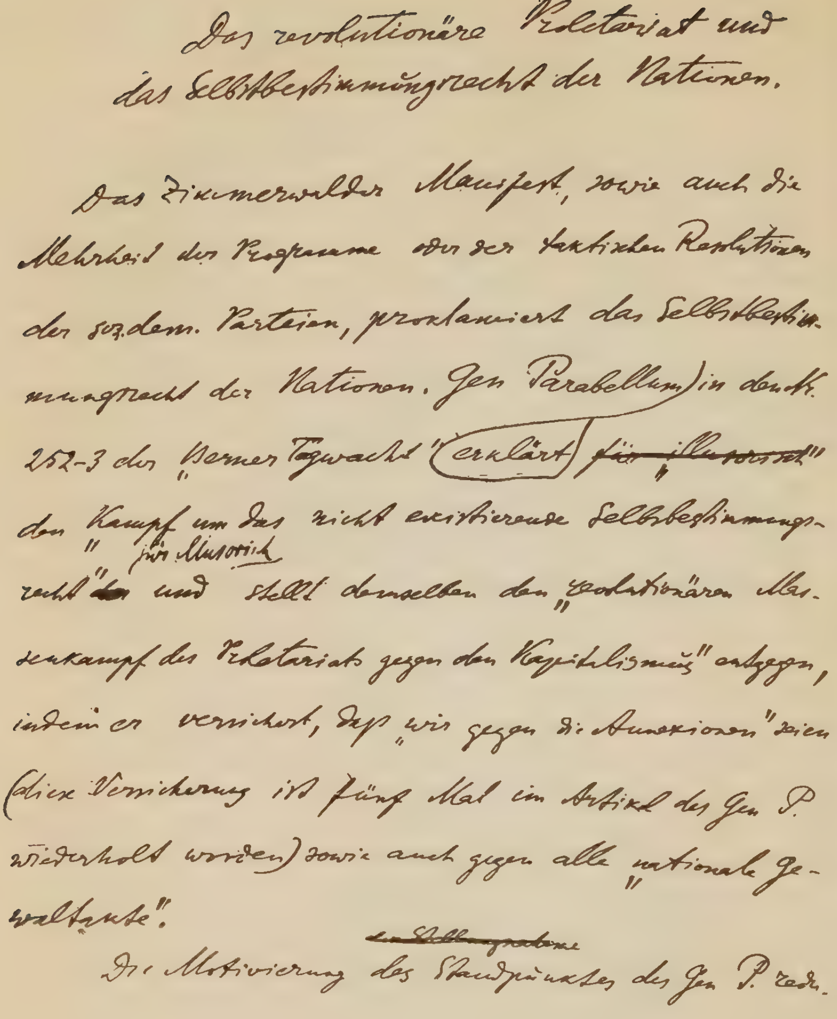
The transformation of individual persons from radical Social-Democrats and revolutionary Marxists into social-chauvinists is a phenomenon common to all the belligerent countries. The stream of chauvinism is so powerful, impetuous and sweeping that everywhere a number of spineless Left Social-Democrats, or such as outlived themselves, were swept by it. Parvus, who proved an adventurer as early as the Russian Revolution, now, in his little magazine, *Die Glocke* [*The Bell*] [192] has verily reached the limit. He defends the German opportunists with an unbelievably brazen and self-satisfied air. He has burned all he worshiped; he has "forgotten" the struggle between the revolutionary and the opportunist currents and their history in international Social-Democracy. With the easy manner of a feuilleton writer who is sure of the approbation of the bourgeoisie, he slaps Marx on the shoulder, "correcting" him without a shadow of conscientious and attentive criticism. Such figures as Engels he treats with open contempt. He defends the pacifists and internationalists of England, the nationalists and jingoes of Germany. He scolds the English social-patriots, calling them chauvinists and tail-ends of the bourgeoisie, at the same time lauding the German chauvinists as revolutionary Social-Democrats and exchanging kisses with Lensch, Haenisch, Grunwald. He licks Hindenburg's boots, assuring his readers that "the German general staff has taken a stand for a revolution in Russia" and printing servile hymns to this "incarnation of the German people's soul," to its "mighty revolutionary sentiment." He promises Germany a painless transition to Socialism through an alliance of the conservatives with a part of the Socialists, and through "bread cards." As a petty coward, he condescendingly half approves of the Zimmerwald Conference, making it appear that he did not notice in its manifesto the expressions directed against *all* shadings of social-chauvinism from that of Parvus and Plekhanov to that of Kolb and Kautsky.

In the six issues of his little magazine there is not one honest thought, not one earnest argument, not one sincere article. It is nothing but a dung-hill of German chauvinism covered by a dashingly painted shield: in the name of the alleged interests of the Russian Revolution! It is perfectly natural that this dung-hill is lauded by opportunists such as Kolb, and the editors of the Chemnitz *Volksstimme* [*People's Voice*].

Mr. Parvus is so brazen-faced that he publicly declares it his "mission" "to serve as an ideological connecting link between the armed German and the revolutionary Russian proletariat." It is enough to expose this jester's phrase to the ridicule of the Russian workers. If the *Prizyv* of Messrs. Plekhanov, Bunakov and Co. has deserved the complete approval of the chauvinists and Khvostovs in Russia, this, *Die Glocke* of Mr. Parvus, is the organ of apostacy and filthy lackeyism in Germany.

In connection with this, one must note one more useful side of the present war. Not only does it kill opportunism and Anarchism by "machine guns," but it also splendidly unmasks the adventurers and the deserters of Socialism. It is highly advantageous for the proletariat that history started this preliminary cleansing of its movement on the eve of the Socialist revolution, and not during it.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 48, November 20, 1915.



Das revolutionäre Proletariat und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen.

Das Zimmerwalder Manifest, sowie auch die Mehrheit der Programme oder der taktischen Resolutionen der soz.dem. Parteien, proklamiert das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Nationen. Gen. Parabellum in den N. 252-3 der „Berner Tagwacht" erklärt ~~für „illusorisch"~~ den „Kampf um das nicht existierende Selbstbestimmungsrecht" ~~der~~ für illusorisch und stellt demselben den „revolutionären Massenkampf des Proletariats gegen den Kapitalismus" entgegen, indem er versichert, daß „wir gegen die Annexionen" seien (diese Versicherung ist fünf Mal im Artikel des Gen. P. wiederholt worden) sowie auch gegen alle „nationale Gewaltakte".

Die Motivierung ~~der Stellungnahme~~ des Standpunktes des Gen. P. redu-

Facsimile of the First Page of the Manuscript of "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (see opposite page).

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT AND THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION *

THE Zimmerwald Manifesto, like the majority of the programmes of the Social-Democratic parties or their resolutions on tactics, proclaims the right of nations to self-determination. Comrade Parabellum, in Nos. 252 and 253 of the *Berner Tagwacht*,[193] declares the "struggle for the non-existent right to self-determination" to be illusory; this struggle he contrasts with a "revolutionary mass struggle of the proletariat against capitalism," at the same time asserting that "we are against annexations" (this assertion is repeated five times in Comrade Parabellum's article), and against all "national acts of violence."

The arguments in favour of Comrade Parabellum's position reduce themselves to the assertion that all national problems of the present, like those of Alsace-Lorraine, Armenia, etc., are problems of imperialism; that capital has outgrown the framework of national states; that it is impossible to turn the wheel of history backward to the antiquated ideal of national states, etc.

Let us see whether Comrade Parabellum's arguments are correct.

First of all, it is Comrade Parabellum who looks backward and not forward when, at the beginning of his campaign against the acceptance by the working class "of the ideal of a national state," he directs his glance towards England, France, Italy, Germany, *i.e.*, countries where the national movement for liberation is a thing of the past, and not towards the Orient, Asia, Africa, the colonies, where this movement is a thing not of the past, but of the present and the future. Suffice it to mention India, China, Persia, Egypt.

Imperialism, further, means that capital has outgrown the framework of national states; it means the widening and sharpening of national oppression on a new historical basis. It follows from this, in contradiction to the conception of Comrade Parabellum, that we must *connect* the revolutionary struggle for Socialism with a revolutionary programme on the national question.

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* See Preface to this volume.—*Ed.*

As to Comrade Parabellum, he, in the name of a Socialist revolution, scornfully rejects a consistently revolutionary programme in the realm of democracy. This is incorrect. The proletariat cannot become victor save through democracy, *i. e.*, through introducing complete democracy and through combining with every step of its movement democratic demands formulated most vigorously, most decisively. It is senseless to *contrast* the Socialist revolution and the revolutionary struggle against capitalism to *one* of the questions of democracy, in this case the national question. On the contrary, we must combine the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary programme and revolutionary tactics relative to *all* democratic demands: a republic, a militia, officials elected by the people, equal rights for women, self-determination of nations, etc. While capitalism exists, all these demands are realisable only as an exception, and in an incomplete, distorted form. Basing ourselves on democracy as it already exists, exposing its incompleteness under capitalism, we advocate the overthrow of capitalism, expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a necessary basis both for the abolition of the poverty of the masses and for a complete and manifold realisation of all democratic reforms. Some of those reforms will be started prior to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, others in the process of the overthrow, still others after it has been accomplished. The Socialist revolution is by no means a single battle; on the contrary, it is an epoch of a whole series of battles around *all* problems of economic and democratic reforms, which can be completed only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It is for the sake of this final aim that we must formulate in a consistently revolutionary manner every one of our democratic demands. It is quite conceivable that the workers of a certain country may overthrow the bourgeoisie *before* even one fundamental democratic reform has been realised in full. It is entirely inconceivable, however, that the proletariat as an historical class will be able to defeat the bourgeoisie if it is not prepared for this task by being educated in the spirit of the most consistent and determined revolutionary democracy.

Imperialism is the progressing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of great powers; it is an epoch of wars among them for the widening and strengthening of national oppression; it is the epoch when the masses of the people are deceived by the hypocritical social-patriots, *i. e.*, people who under the pretext of "freedom of nations," "right of nations to self-determination," and "defence of the fatherland" justify and defend the oppression of a majority of the world's nations by the great powers.

This is just why the central point in a programme of Social-Democrats must be that distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations, since the distinction is the *essence* of imperialism, and is fraudulently evaded by the social-patriots, Kautsky included. This distinction is not important from the point of view of bourgeois pacifism, or the petty-bourgeois Utopia of peaceful competition between independent nations under capitalism, but it is most important from the point of view of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. From this distinction there follows *our* consistently democratic and revolutionary definition of the "right of nations to self-determination," which is in accord with the general task of the immediate struggle for Socialism. It is in the name of this right, and fighting for its unequivocal recognition, that the Social-Democrats of the *oppressing* nations must demand the freedom of separation for the oppressed nations, for otherwise recognition of the equal rights of nations and international solidarity of the workers in reality remains an empty phrase, a hypocritical gesture. The Social-Democrats of the *oppressed* nations, however, must view as foremost the demand for the unity and the *fusion* of the workers of the oppressed nations with the workers of the oppressing nations, because otherwise those Social-Democrats involuntarily become the allies of one or the other national bourgeoisie, which *always* betrays the interest of the people and of democracy, and which in its turn is *always* ready for annexations and for oppressing other nations.

The approach to the national problem by the end of the sixties of the nineteenth century may serve as an instructive example. The petty-bourgeois democrats, devoid of every idea concerning the class-struggle and the Socialist revolution, pictured a Utopia of peaceful competition between free and equal nations under capitalism. The Proudhonists "denied" entirely the national question and the right of self-determination of nations and precisely from the point of view of the immediate tasks of a social revolution. Marx scoffed at French Proudhonism showing its affinity to French chauvinism ("All Europe must sit quietly and obediently on its behind until the masters abolish poverty in France," * "by the denial of the national question, they seem to understand, without being aware of it, the swallowing up of the nations by the exemplary French nation").* Marx demanded the *separation of Ireland* from England, "even should the separation finally result in a federation," ** and not from the standpoint of the petty-bourgeois Utopia of a peaceful capitalism, not from considerations of "justice to Ireland," but from the standpoint of the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of the *oppressing, i. e., the English, nation* against capitalism. The freedom of *that* nation was cramped and mutilated by the fact that it oppressed another nation. The internationalism of the *English* proletariat would have remained a hypocritical phrase were *it* not to demand the separation of Ireland. Marx never was in favour of small states, or of splitting up states, or of the federation principle. Still he considered the separation of an oppressed nation as a step towards federation, consequently not towards a splitting of nations but towards concentration, towards political and economic concentration, but concentration on the basis of democracy. From Comrade Parabellum's standpoint, Marx must have fought an "illusory" battle when he demanded the separation of Ireland. In reality, however, only this demand was a consistent revolutionary programme, only it corresponded to internationalism, only it represented concentration *not* along the lines of imperialism.

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* In his letter to Engels of June 7, 1866, Marx wrote: ". . . *ganz Europa müsse und werde still auf dem Hintern sitzen, bis die Herren in Frankreich 'La misère et l'ignorance' abgeschafft. . . .*" (*Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx,* Stuttgart, 1921, Vol. III, p. 323.)—*Ed.*

The imperialism of our days has brought about a situation where the oppression of nations by the great powers is a common phenomenon. It is precisely the standpoint of struggle against the social-patriots of the great-power nations that are now waging an imperialist war for the purpose of strengthening the oppression of nations—that are oppressing the majority of nations of the world and the majority of the earth's population—it is precisely this standpoint that must become the decisive, cardinal, basic point in the Social-Democratic national programme.

Let us now cast a glance at the present-day currents of Social-Democratic thought on this question. The petty-bourgeois Utopians who dream of equality and peace among nations under capitalism have ceded their place to the social-patriots. In battling against the former, Comrade Parabellum battles against windmills, thereby unwillingly aiding the latter. What, then, is the programme of the social-patriots on the national question?

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* In his letter to Engels of June 20, 1866, Marx wrote: ". . . *unter Negation der Nationalitäten ihre Absorption in die französische Musternation zu verstehen scheine.* (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 328.)—*Ed.*

** In his letter to Engels of November 2, 1867, Marx wrote: "*obgleich nach der Trennung Föderation kommen mag.*" (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. III, p. 421.)—*Ed.*

They either entirely deny the right to self-determination, using arguments like those of Comrade Parabellum (Cunow, Parvus, the Russian opportunists Semkovsky, Liebman, etc.), or they recognise that right in an obviously hypocritical fashion, namely, without applying it to precisely those nations which are oppressed by their own nation or by the military allies of their own nation (Plekhanov, Hyndman, all the Francophile social-patriots, Scheidemann and Co., etc.). It is Kautsky, however, that gives the formulation of the social-patriotic lie that is most plausible and therefore most dangerous for the proletariat. In words he is *for* self-determination of nations; in words he says that the Social-Democratic Party *"die Selbstständigkeit der Nationen allseitig* [*!!*] *und rückhaltlos* [*??*] [*risum tenatis, amici!*] *achtet und fordert"* * [*Neue Zeit*, 33, II, p. 241, May 21, 1915].[194] In reality, however, he adapts the national programme to the prevailing social-patriotism; he distorts and mutilates it without clearly determining the duties of the Socialists of the oppressing nations, and he even falsifies the democratic principle itself when he says that to demand "state independence" (*staatliche Selbstständigkeit*) for every nation would mean to demand *"too much"* (*zu viel*) [*Neue Zeit*, 33, II, p. 77, May 16, 1915].[195] "National autonomy" alone, according to his sagacious opinion, is sufficient. Kautsky thus evades the most important question which the imperialist bourgeoisie does not allow one to touch upon, namely, the question of the *boundaries of a state* which rests on the oppression of nations. Kautsky, to please the bourgeoisie, throws out of the national programme of the Social-Democratic Party the most essential thing. The bourgeoisie will promise any "national autonomy," if only the proletariat remains within the framework of legality and peacefully submits to the bourgeoisie on the question of the state boundaries! Kautsky formulates the national programme of Social-Democracy not like a revolutionary but like a reformist.

Comrade Parabellum's national programme or, more correctly, his assurances to the effect that "we are against annexations" is eagerly subscribed to by the German *Parteivorstand,** Kautsky, Plekhanov and Co. just because that programme does not expose the dominating social-patriots. Bourgeois pacifists would also be willing to sign this programme. Parabellum's splendid general programme ("revolutionary mass struggle against capitalism") serves him, as it did the Proudhonists of the sixties, not to work out an uncompromising, equally revolutionary programme in the national question in conformity with the general programme and its spirit, but only to clear the field for the social-patriots! The majority of the Socialists of the world belong, in our imperialist epoch, to nations that oppress other nations and strive to widen the scope of that oppression. This is why our "struggle against annexations" will be meaningless and not at all terrifying to the social-patriots, if we do not declare that a Socialist of an oppressing nation who does not conduct a propaganda, both in peace and war time, in favour of *separation,* a Socialist of an oppressing nation who does not conduct such a propaganda, in *defiance* of the governmental prohibitions, *i. e.,* in a free,, *i. e.,* in an illegal press, is not a Socialist or an internationalist but a chauvinist, whose adherence to national equality is sheer hypocrisy.

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* "Respect and demand everywhere [!!] and without reservations [??] [withhold your laughter, friends!] the independence of nations."—*Ed.*

About Russia, which has not yet completed its bourgeois-democratic revolution, Comrade Parabellum says only one sentence:

> *Selbst das wirtschaftlich sehr zurückgebliebene Russland hat in der Haltung der polnischen, lettischen, armenischen Bourgeoisie gezeigt, dass nicht nur die militärische Bewachung es ist, die die Völker in diesem "Zuchthaus der Völker" zusammenhält, sondern Bedürfnisse der kapitalistischen Expansion, für die das ungeheure Territorium ein glänzender Boden der Entwicklung ist.***

This is not a "Social-Democratic," but a liberal-bourgeois point of view, not an internationalist but a Great-Russian chauvinist point of view. It is unfortunate that Comrade Parabellum, who so excellently fights the German social-patriots, evidently has very little acquaintance with Russian chauvinism! To make a Social-Democratic sentence and to allow Social-Democratic conclusions to be drawn from the above sentence of Comrade Parabellum, it must be changed and amended in the following way:

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* Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party.—*Ed.*

** "Even the economically very backward Russia proved in the stand taken by the Polish, Lettish, Armenian bourgeoisie that it is not only military supervision that keeps the peoples in that 'prison of peoples' together, but also the need for capitalist expansion, for which the vast territory is a splendid ground for development."—*Ed.*

Russia *is* a prison of peoples not only because of the military, feudal character of tsarism, not only because the Great-Russian bourgeoisie supports tsarism, but also because the Polish, Lettish, etc., bourgeoisie has sacrificed the freedom of nations and democracy in general for the interests of capitalist expansion. The proletariat of Russia, marching at the head of the people, cannot complete the victorious democratic revolution (which is its immediate task); neither can it fight together with its brothers, the proletarians of Europe, for a Socialist revolution, without demanding at once full and "*unreserved*" freedom of separation from Russia for all the nations oppressed by Russia. This we demand not as something independent from our revolutionary struggle for Socialism, but because this struggle would remain an idle phrase if it were not linked up with a revolutionary approach to all the questions of democracy, including the national question. We demand the freedom of self-determination, *i. e.*, independence, *i. e.*, the freedom of separation for the oppressed nations, not because we dream of an economically atomised world, nor because we cherish the ideal of small states, but on the contrary because we are for large states and for a coming closer, even a fusion of nations, but on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is *unthinkable* without the freedom of separation. In the same way as Marx in 1869 demanded the separation of Ireland, not for the purpose of splitting England, but for a subsequent free alliance of Ireland with England, not for the sake of "justice to Ireland," but for the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the *English* proletariat, so we at present consider the refusal by the Socialists of Russia to demand freedom of self-determination for the nations, in the sense indicated by us above, as a direct betrayal of democracy, internationalism, and Socialism.

N. LENIN.

Written in November, 1915, in German.
First published in the *Lenin Collection*, VI, 1927.

LETTER TO THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE IN AMERICA[196]

. . . THE opportunists who must be excluded from the party, particularly now that they have conducted themselves like traitors during the war. If a small group (at present our Central Committee is a small group) could act in every given crisis, directing the masses *towards a revolution*, that would be very good. In any crisis the masses cannot act directly, the masses need aid from small groups—the central institutions of our party. From the very beginning of the war, since September, 1914, our Central Committee tried to impress upon the masses that they should not accept the lie concerning a "war of defence," that they should break with the compromisers and the so-called jingo Socialists (this is what we call the "Socialists" who stand *at present* for a war of defence). We think that those centralising steps of our Central Committee were useful and necessary.

We agree with you that we must stand against craft unions and for industrial unions, *i. e.*, for large centralised trade unions and for the most active participation of *all* party members in the economic struggle and in *all* the trade unions and co-operative organisations of the working class. Such men, however, as Mr. Legien in Germany and Mr. Gompers in the U. S. A. we consider to be bourgeois, and their politics not Socialist but nationalist middle class politics. Mr. Legien, Mr. Gompers and the like represent not the working class but the aristocracy and the bureaucracy of the working class.

We are in full sympathy with your demand for mass actions of the workers. The German revolutionists and Socialists-internationalists demand the same. In our press we take pains to define in detail what must be understood by "political mass actions," for instance, the political strike (which is very usual in Russia), the street demonstration, and civil war, which is being prepared by the present imperialist world war.

We do not preach an alliance with the *present* Socialist parties which are dominant in the Second International. On the contrary, we insist on *breaking* with the conciliators. The war is the best object lesson. The conciliators, their leaders, their most influential papers and magazines in every country, are *in favour* of the war; in other words, they have actually *formed an alliance* with "their" national bourgeoisie (middle class, capitalists) against the proletarian masses. You say that there are Socialists in America who express themselves in favour of a war of defence. We are convinced that an alliance with such people is criminal. *This* would be an alliance with the national middle class and capitalists, and a *break* with the international revolutionary working class. *We*, on our part, stand for a break with the nationalist conciliators, for an alliance with the international Marxists-revolutionists, and with the parties of the working class.

We have never objected in our press to uniting the Socialist Party [197] and the Socialist Labour Party [198] in America. We have always referred to the letters of Marx and Engels (especially those addressed to Sorge, an active participant of the American Socialist movement) in which *both* condemn the sectarian character of the S. L. P.[199]

We are fully in agreement with your criticism leveled at the old International. We have participated in the Zimmerwald Conference (in Switzerland, September 5-8, 1915). We have formed a *Left Wing* there and have submitted *our resolution* and a draft manifesto.* We have just published those documents in Germany, and I am forwarding them to you (together with a German translation of our pamphlet, *Socialism and War*) in the hope that there is a comrade in your League who knows German. If it were possible for you to help us publish these documents in English (this is possible only in America; we could subsequently send them into England), we would gladly accept your aid.

In our struggle for true internationalism against the "jingo Socialists" we have always pointed in our press at the conciliationist leaders of the S. P. of America who are in favour of restricting immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers (especially after the Stuttgart Congress of 1907 and *in spite* of its decisions).[200] We think that it is impossible to be an internationalist while favouring such restrictions. We assert that as long as the American and, particularly, English Socialists, who belong to a *ruling* and *oppressing* nation, are in favour of any kind of restriction of immigra-

* See Appendices: Documents, VI and VII.—*Ed.*

tion and possessing colonies (the Hawaiian Islands), as long as they do not stand for the full independence of the latter, they are in reality "jingoes."

In conclusion I wish to reiterate my best wishes and greetings to your League. We would be very glad, also, in the future to receive information from you, and to combine our struggle with yours against the conciliators and for true internationalism.

Yours,

N. LENIN.

There are two Social-Democratic parties in Russia. Our party (the Central Committee) is against the conciliators. The second party (the Organisation Committee) is opportunist. We are against an alliance with it.

You may write to our official address(Central Committee, care of Russian Library, 7 Rue Hugo de Senger, Geneva, Switzerland); but best of all, use my personal address: Vladimir Ulyanov, Seidenweg, 4a, III, *Berne*, Switzerland.

Written in November, 1915.
First published in the *Lenin Collection*, II, 1924.

SOCIAL-CHAUVINIST POLICY COVERED UP WITH INTERNATIONALIST PHRASES

WHAT is the relation of political facts to political literature, of political events to political slogans, of political reality to political ideology? This question is at present of fundamental significance for the understanding of the whole crisis of the International. Every crisis, even every breaking point, in a development, inevitably leads to a discrepancy between old form and new contents. We do not speak of the fact that bourgeois society continually rears politicians who love to say that they belong to no class, and opportunists who love to call themselves Socialists, who purposely and systematically deceive the masses by the most splendid, the most "radical" words. However, in every crisis even conscientious participants very often reveal a discrepancy between word and action. All crises, even the most burdensome, difficult and painful, have this great significance in the way of progress, that with splendid speed, force and clarity they unmask and reject the rotten, albeit conscientious, words; the rotten, albeit best-intentioned, institutions.

The outstanding facts in the life of Russian Social-Democracy at the present moment are the elections of the St. Petersburg workers to the War Industries Committees.[201] For the first time during the war, these elections have attracted real *masses* of the proletarians to discuss and decide the fundamental questions of present-day politics; they have shown us a real picture of *what is going on inside* of Social-Democracy as a mass party. What has been revealed is that there are two, only two, currents: one revolutionary, internationalist, really proletarian, which is organised in our party, and this current is *against defence;* the other is the "*defence*" or social-chauvinist current, a bloc of the *Nashe Dyelo* people (*i. e.*, the main nucleus of the Liquidators), the Plekhanovists, Narodniks and non-partisans, that whole bloc having been supported by the entire bourgeois press and the entire Black Hundred of Russia, which proves the bourgeois, the non-proletarian essence of the policy of the bloc.

Such are the facts. Such is reality. But what about the slogans and the ideology? The St. Petersburg *Rabocheye Utro* [*Workers'*

Morning] No. 2 (October 22),[202] the collection of articles issued by the Organisation Committee crowd, (*International and War*, No. 1, November 30, 1915),[203] and the last issues of the *Nashe Slovo* offer evidence which ought to make every one think and think hard—every one interested in politics in a way different from the way Gogol's Petrushka was interested in reading.*

Let us then examine the essence and significance of *this* ideology.

The St. Petersburg *Rabocheye Utro* is the most important document. It is here that the chiefs of Liquidationism and social-chauvinism are sitting together with the informer, Mr. Gvozdev. Those people know to perfection what preceded the elections of September 27, and what took place at the elections. Those people were in a position to cast a cloak over their bloc with the Plekhanovists, Narodniks and the non-partisan elements, and they did it. They did not say a word about the meaning of that bloc, or about the *numerical strength* of its various component parts. It was advantageous for them to hide this "trifle" (Mr. Gvozdev and his friends of the *Rabocheye Utro* undoubtedly had data concerning it), and they hid it. But even they could not invent a *third* group besides the ninety and the eighty-one; to lie on the spot in St. Petersburg in the face of the workers, to invent a "third" group, fables of which are being told by the "anonymous writer of Copenhagen" on the pages of the German press and the *Nashe Slovo*, is impossible, because people who have not lost their minds do not lie when they know that they will inevitably be exposed then and there. This is why the *Rabocheye Utro* publishes the article of K. Oransky (an old acquaintance!) entitled "Two Positions," in which he analyses in detail the positions of the group of ninety and the group of eighty-one, without mentioning a word about the third position. We shall note in passing that the censor mutilated No. 2 of the *Rabocheye Utro* almost throughout; there are almost more blank columns there than printed ones, but of the articles only two were left intact, "Two Positions," and a feuilleton which distorts the history of 1905 in a liberal spirit, in both of which the Bolsheviks are abused for "Anarchism" and "boycotting." It is to the advantage of the tsarist government that such things should be written and published! It is not by mere accident that such talk enjoys the monopoly of legality everywhere, from despotic Russia to republican France!

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* A character in Gogol's novel, *Dead Souls*. Petrushka liked the very process of reading printed matter, without getting the meaning of what he read. He read indiscriminately—a grammar book, a chemistry book, a prayer book, or a novel. He always marveled how words were formed from letters.—*Ed.*

What, then, are the arguments with which the *Rabocheye Utro* defends its position of "defence of the country" or social-chauvinism? It does it by means of evasions only, by means of internationalist phrases!! Our position, they assert, is not at all "national," it is not at all in favour of "defence"; we only express "what is not at all expressed in the attitude of the first group" (the group of ninety), namely, a "not indifferent attitude to the situation of the country," to "saving" it "from destruction and ruin." Our position, it says, was "really international"; while showing ways and means for "liberating" the country, we "were in agreement," (with the first position) "in explaining the origin of the war and its socio-political essence," we "were in agreement [!! with the first position] in utilising the general problem of the international organisation and international work of the proletariat [see what earnest fellows we are!] and of democracy during the war, during all periods of the development of the world conflict without exception." We declared in our instructions, it says, that, "in the present socio-political circumstances, the working class cannot take upon itself any responsibility for the defence of the fatherland"; we, "in the first place, decidedly identified ourselves with the international tasks of democracy," we "added our contribution to the live stream of tendencies whose milestones were Copenhagen and Zimmerwald." (Look at us!) We are, it says, for the slogan of "peace *without annexations*" (italics in *Rabocheye Utro*); we, it says, "in contrast with the abstractness and the cosmopolitan Anarchism of the first current, advanced the realism and internationalism of our position, our tactics."

Every assertion is a gem, to say the least. But there is in all these gems, aside from ignorance and Repetilov * lying, a definite diplomacy, perfectly sober and *correct* from the point of view of the bourgeoisie. To influence the workers, the bourgeois must disguise themselves as Socialists, Social-Democrats, internationalists, etc., else they cannot exercise influence. The *Rabocheye Utro* disguises itself; it paints, rouges, makes itself pretty, winks an eye, goes the limit! We are ready a hundred times to sign the Zimmerwald

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* Gossip and phrasemonger, character in Griboyedov's (1794-1829) popular comedy *Woe from Being Too Wise.—Ed.*

Manifesto (a slap in the face of those Zimmerwaldists who signed the Manifesto without fighting against its timidity and without making reservations!) or any other resolution about the imperialist nature of the war, or take any oath of adherence to "internationalism" and "revolutionism" ("liberation of the country" in the censored press being equal to "revolution" in the illegally appearing press) if only—if only we are not interfered with in calling the workers to participate in the War Industries Committee, *i. e.*, *practically* to participate in the recationary war of plunder ("war of defence").

Only this is business; the rest, words. Only this is real; the rest, phrases. *Only this is required* for the police, for the tsarist monarchy, Khvostov and the bourgeois. The clever bourgeois in the more clever countries tolerate the internationalist and pacifist phrases if only participation in the defence is secured: remember the comments of the French reactionary papers on the London Conference of the Socialists of the "Triple Entente." The Socialist gentlemen, one of the papers said, suffer, don't you see, from a sort of twitch, a species of nervous malady which forces people involuntarily to repeat the same gesture, the same muscular movements, the same word. It is for that reason, the papers said, that "our" Socialists cannot speak about anything without repeating the words, "We are internationalists, we are for a social revolution." This is not dangerous, the bourgeois paper concludes, this is only a "twitch"; what is important for "us" is their standing up for the defence of the fatherland.

This is how the clever French and English bourgeois reason. If participation in a war of plunder is defended by phrases of democracy, Socialism, etc., is this not profitable to the rapacious governments, to the imperialist bourgeoisie? Is it not profitable for the master to have a lackey who swears before the people for all he is worth that the master loves them, that he is sacrificing his entire life for their welfare?

The *Rabocheye Utro* swears by Zimmerwald, and in *words* draws a line between itself and the Plekhanovists in declaring (No. 2) that it "disagrees in many things" with them; *in practice*, however, it agrees with them *in fundamentals*, in practice it *participates* together with them, together with the bourgeoisie, in the "*defence*" institutions of the chauvinist bourgeoisie.

The Organisation Committee not only swears by Zimmerwald but it *signs* formal declarations, it not only draws a line between itself and the Plekhanovists, but it also delegates a certain anonymous person, A. M., who, hiding behind his anonymity as behind a fence, declares: "We, adhering [maybe A. M. is not one but two "adhering" persons?] to the August Bloc deem it necessary to declare that the organisation of the *Prizyv* has gone far beyond that which can be tolerated in our party, as we understand it, and there can be no place within the ranks of the organisations of the August Bloc[204] for the members of the group aiding the *Prizyv.*" What brave people those "adhering" A. M. are! They tell the downright truth without flinching!

Of the five persons forming the "Foreign Secretariat"[205] of the Organsation Committee that has published the collection of articles quoted, none wished to make such a courageous declaration! It follows that the five secretaries are against breaking with Plekhanov (not so very long ago P. Axelrod declared that the Menshevik Plekhanov is closer to him than the Bolshevik internationalists) but being afraid of the workers and not wishing to spoil their "reputation" they preferred to keep silent about it, exhibiting, however, one or two anonymous "adhering" persons to shine with cheap and non-dangerous internationalism. . . .

On the one hand, individual secretaries, A. Martynov, L. Martov, Astrov, are engaged in polemics against the *Nashe Dyelo,* Martov even expressing his personal opinion against participation in the War Industries Committees. On the other hand, the Bundist Yonov, who considers himself more "Left" than Kossovsky who reflects the actual policy of the Bund, is readily pushed forward by the Bundists to cover up their nationalism; he preaches "further development of the old tactics [of the Second International, which led to its collapse] but by no means its liquidation." The editors add to Yonov's article equivocal, diplomatic and evasive little footnotes which say nothing; at the same time they do not object to its *essence,* to the defence of what is rotten and opportunist in the "old tactics." The anonymous A. M., who "adhere" to the August Bloc, directly *defend* the *Nasha Zarya,* though it did, they say, "deviate" from the internationalist position; but it "rejected [?] the policy of *Burgfrieden* for Russia; it recognised the necessity of immediately re-establishing international connections and as far as we" (the "adhering" anonymous A. M.) "know, it approved of excluding Mankov from the Duma fraction." Excellent defence! Even the petty-bourgeois

Narodniks are for the re-establishment of connections; even Kerensky is against Mankov; to characterise as opposed to the policy of civil peace (*Burgfrieden*) those who expressed themselves as favouring non-resistance to the war, means to deceive the workers by empty words.

The editors of the Organisation Committee's magazine appear as a unit with an article entitled "Dangerous Tendencies." Here is a sample of political evasion! On the one hand, there are here loud Left phrases against the authors of defence appeals (the Moscow and Petrograd social-chauvinists); on the other hand, they write: "*It is difficult to judge from what party circles both declarations originated.*" In reality, there is not a shadow of a doubt that they originated "from the circles" of the *Nashe Dyelo*, although the contributors of that legally appearing magazine are of course not guilty of composing an underground declaration. Instead of treating the ideological roots of those declarations, the full identity of those roots with the currents of Liquidationism, social-chauvinism and the *Nashe Dyelo*, the Organisation Committee crowd busy themselves with a senseless pettifogging, that is of no value for anybody but the police, namely, the *personal* authorship of the members of one or the other *circle*. On the one hand, the editors thunder and threaten: We internationalists of the August Bloc, they say, will close our ranks for "the most energetic resistance to the defence tendencies" [p. 129], for "an uncompromising struggle" [p. 126]; on the other hand, we find in close proximity with such declarations the following card sharper's phrase: "The line of the Duma fraction, supported by the Organisation Committee, has met [hitherto!] with no open opposition" [p. 129]!

As is well known to the authors themselves, this line consists in the absence of any line, and is a covert defence of the *Nashe Dyelo* and the *Rabocheye Utro.*

Take the most "Left" and the most "principled" article of the collection, that written by L. Martov; it is sufficient to quote one phrase expressing the author's main thought to see what his adherence to principles looks like. "It is self-evident," he writes, "that if the present crisis should lead to a democratic revolution, to a republic, then the character of the war would radically change" [p. 116.] This is a complete and glaring untruth. It is impossible for Martov not to have known that a democratic revolution and a republic are a bourgeois-democratic revolution and a bourgeois republic. The character of the war of the bourgeois and *imperialist* great powers would not change *one iota* if the military, autocratic and feudal imperialism were swept away in one of these countries, because under such conditions that character would not disappear; on the contrary, purely bourgeois imperialism would only *become stronger.* It is for that reason that our paper, [No. 47] in thesis 9,* declared that the party of the proletariat of Russia will not defend in the present war even a fatherland of republicans and revolutionists as long as they are chauvinists like Plekhanov, the Narodniks, Kautsky, the *Nashe Dyelo* people, Chkheidze, the Organisation Committee, etc.

Martov is not at all saved by his evasive phrase in a footnote on p. 118 where, in contradiction to what he says on p. 116, he "doubts" whether bourgeois democracy can fight "against international imperialism" (of course it cannot); he "doubts" whether the bourgeoisie would not turn a republic of 1793 into a republic of Gambetta and Clemenceau. The fundamental theoretical falsehood here remains unchanged: In 1793 the foremost class in a bourgeois revolution in France fought against the *pre-revolutionary* monarchies of Europe, whereas Russia of 1915 fights, not with more backward, but with more progressive countries that are on the eve of Socialist revolutions. It follows that only the proletariat, completing a victorious social revolution, can claim the role of the Jacobins of 1793 in the war of 1914-1915. It follows that in the present war the Russian proletariat could "defend the fatherland," could consider "the character of the war radically changed" only in one case, if the revolution were to place precisely the proletariat in the position of power, if it were to allow that party to direct the entire force of a revolutionary upheaval and the entire state apparatus to the immediate and direct realisation of an alliance with the Socialist proletariat of Germany and France (*Sotsial-Demokrat,* No. 47, thesis 11).**

Martov concludes his article, in which he juggles with striking phrases, by making a most striking appeal to "Russian Social-Democracy" to "take a clear revolutionary-internationalist position" at the very beginning of the political crisis. If the reader wants to test whether there is not something rotten under this striking shield, let him ask himself what it generally means to take a position in politics. It means (1) to give a formulated definition of the moment and the tactics, a series of resolutions in the name of the organisation (and if it be only in the name of the "quintette of secretaries"); (2) to issue the fighting slogan of the moment; (3) to connect the first and the second with *action* on the part of the proletarian *masses* and their class-conscious vanguard. Martov and Axelrod, the ideological leaders of the "quintette," not only have failed to do either the first or the second or the third, but in all these three realms they practically *support the social-chauvinists*, they shield them! For the sixteen months of the war, the five foreign secretaries did not take a "clear position," did not take any position on the question of programme and tactics. Martov sways alternately to the left and to the right. Axelrod is continually inclined to the right (see especially his German pamphlet). Nothing clear, nothing formulated, nothing organised, no position whatever! "The central fighting slogan of the moment," Martov writes in his own name, "for the Russian proletariat must be an All-National Constituent Assembly for the liquidation of both tsarism and the war." This is neither a central nor a fighting slogan. It is entirely useless because it does not disclose the social content, the class content. It does not give a political, clear definition of this double "liquidation." It is a cheap bourgeois-democratic phrase, and not a central or fighting or proletarian slogan.

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* See p. 358.—*Ed.*

** See p. 358.—*Ed.*

In the main thing, as far as connections with the *masses* in Russia are concerned, Martov and Co. offer, not a zero, but a minus. There is nothing back of them. The elections have shown that only the bloc of the bourgeoisie with the *Rabocheye Utro* has masses behind it, whereas reference to the Organisation Committee and Chkheidze's fraction means only shielding that bourgeois bloc by falsehoods.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 49, December 21, 1915.

OPPORTUNISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

It is instructive to compare the attitude of the various classes and parties towards the collapse of the International as revealed by the war of 1914-1915. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie lauds and extols to the sky those Socialists who express themselves in favour of defending the fatherland, *i. e.*, in favour of the war and of aiding the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the more outspoken and less diplomatic representatives of the bourgeoisie are expressing malicious joy over the collapse of the Second International, the collapse of the "illusions" of Socialism. Among the Socialists who "defend the fatherland," there are also two shades: the "extremists" like the Germans, W. Kolb and W. Heine, who admit the collapse of the International but, blaming for it the "revolutionary illusions," are striving to rebuild a *still more* opportunist International. In practice they agree with the "moderates," the cautious Socialist "defenders of the fatherland," like Kautsky, Renaudel, and Vandervelde, who stubbornly deny that the International has collapsed, who consider it only temporarily suspended, and defend the vitality of the Second International and its right to exist. The revolutionary Social-Democrats of the various countries admit the collapse of the Second International and the necessity of building the Third International.

To decide who is right, let us take an historic document which has reference to the present war, and has been signed unanimously and officially by *all* the Socialist parties of the world. This is the Basle Manifesto. It is worth noting that in theory no Socialist would dare deny the necessity of analysing every single war in its concrete historic surroundings. However, nobody but the none too numerous "Left" Social-Democrats would dare at present, either directly, openly, and definitely to repudiate the Basle Manifesto by declaring it to be erroneous, or to analyse it conscientiously, comparing its decisions with the conduct of the Socialists during the war.

Why so? Because the Basle Manifesto mercilessly exposes the complete falsity of the reasoning and the conduct of the majority of the official Socialists. There is *not a single word* in this Manifesto either concerning the "defence of the fatherland" or concerning the differences between a war of aggression and defence! *Not a syllable* concerning the subject about which the official leaders of Social-Democracy, both in Germany and in the Quadruple Entente, are talking, shouting, and yelling most. The Basle Manifesto, in a perfectly clear, precise, and definite manner analyses those concrete conflicts of interests which led to war in 1912 and brought about the war in 1914. The Manifesto says that those are conflicts arising on the basis of "capitalist imperialism," conflicts between Austria and Russia for supremacy on the Balkans, conflicts between England, France, and Germany over their "politics of conquest in Asia Minor" (the politics *of all of them!*), conflicts between Austria and Italy over their attempt to "draw Albania into their sphere of influence," to subject them to their "domination," conflicts between England and Germany due to their general "antagonism," due further to "tsarism's attempts at seizing Armenia, Constantinople, etc." Everybody can see that this pertains entirely to the present war. The purely imperialist, reactionary character of this war as a war of conquest for the sake of enslaving peoples, is most clearly recognised in the Manifesto which draws the necessary conclusion that war "cannot be justified by even the slightest pretext of being in the interest of the people," that the war is being prepared for the sake of "the profits of capitalists and ambitions of dynasties," that on the part of the workers it would be "a crime to fire at each other." *

In those paragraphs is contained all that is essential to the understanding of the basic difference between two great historic epochs. One was the epoch between 1789 and 1871, when wars in Europe were in most cases connected with the most important national interests, namely with a powerful bourgeois progressive movement for liberation affecting millions of people, with the destruction of feudalism, absolutism, foreign oppression. On this soil, and on this alone, there grew the concept of the "defence of the fatherland," defence of the bourgeois nation liberating itself from medievalism. Only in this sense did the Socialists recognise the "defence of the fatherland." *In this sense* it must be recognised even at present; for instance, the defence of Persia or China against Russia or England, of Turkey against Germany or Russia, of Albania against Austria and Italy, etc.

* See Appendices: Documents, II.—*Ed.*

The war of 1914-1915, as clearly expressed in the Basle Manifesto, belongs to an entirely different historic epoch and has an entirely different character. This is a war among beasts of prey for the purpose of dividing the loot, for the purpose of enslaving other countries. A victory of Russia, England, and France means the strangulation of Armenia, Asia Minor, etc.—this is said in the Basle Manifesto. The victory of Germany means the strangulation of Asia Minor, Serbia, Albania. This is said in the same Manifesto, this has been recognised by all Socialists. False, senseless, and hypocritical are all the phrases about a war of defence or about the defence of the fatherland on the part of the great powers (read: the great beasts of prey) that are fighting for domination over the world, for markets and "spheres of influence," for the enslavement of peoples! Little wonder that the "Socialists" who are in favour of defending the fatherland are afraid to recall or to quote literally the Basle Manifesto: it exposes their hypocrisy. The Basle Manifesto *proves* that Socialists who in the war of 1914-1915 stand for the "defence of the fatherland" are Socialists only in words and chauvinists in deed. They are Socialists-chauvinists.

One line of Socialist tactics follows from recognising a war that is connected with national liberation; another line of tactics follows from recognising the war as imperialist, predatory, rapacious. This latter line of tactics was clearly laid down in the Basle Manifesto. The war, it says, will call forth an "economic and political crisis." This crisis, it continues, must be "utilised" to "hasten the collapse of capitalism." These words *recognise* that the social revolution is *ripe*, that it is *possible*, that it is *coming* in connection with the war. "Ruling classes" are afraid of a "proletarian revolution," says the Manifesto, directly referring to the example of the Commune and of 1905, *i. e.*, to the examples of revolutions, strikes, civil war. It is a lie when anybody says that the Socialists "have not discussed," "have not decided" the question about their attitude toward the war. The Basle Manifesto *decided* this question; it mapped out the line of tactics—of proletarian revolutionary action and civil war.

It would be erroneous to think that the Basle Manifesto is an empty declamation, an official phrase, a none-too-serious threat. This is asserted by those who are exposed by the Manifesto! But this is not true! The Basle Manifesto sums up the vast amount of propaganda and agitation material of the entire epoch of the Second International, namely, the period between 1889 and 1914. This Manifesto *gives the gist of tens of millions* * of proclamations, press articles, books, speeches of Socialists of all countries. To declare this Manifesto erroneous means to declare as erroneous the entire Second International, the work of all the Social-Democratic parties for decades and decades. To wave aside the Basle Manifesto is to wave aside the whole history of Socialism. The Basle Manifesto says nothing *unusual*, nothing *extraordinary.* It gives only that *by which* the Socialists led the masses; it recognises the "peaceful" work of *preparation* for a proletarian revolution. The Basle Manifesto repeated what Guesde said at the Congress of 1899 when he ridiculed the ministerialism of Socialists manifesting itself in case of a war for markets, in case of "*brigandages capitalistes*" (*En Garde*, pp. 175-6), or what Kautsky said in 1909 in his pamphlet *Der Weg zur Macht*, where he pointed out the end of the "peaceful epoch" and the coming of an epoch of wars and revolutions, of the struggle of the proletariat for power.

The Basle Manifesto proves in an incontestable way the absolute *betrayal* of Socialism by the Socialists who voted for military appropriations, who entered cabinets, who recognised the defence of the fatherland in 1914-1915. This betrayal is undeniable. Only hypocrites can deny it. The question is only how to explain it.

It would be absurd, unscientific, and ridiculous to reduce the question to *personalities*, to refer to Kautsky, Guesde, Plekhanov (to say: "even" such persons!). This would be a miserable subterfuge. An earnest explanation requires, first, an *economic* analysis of the meaning of present politics, then an analysis of their fundamental *ideas*, and finally a study of the historic *currents* inside of Socialism.

What is *economically* implied in the "defence of the fatherland" during the war of 1914-1915? The answer was given in the Basle Manifesto. The war is being fought by *all* great powers for the purpose of plundering, dividing the world, acquiring markets, enslaving peoples. For the bourgeoisie it brings an increase in profits; for a thin layer of labour bureaucracy and aristocracy, also for the petty bourgeoisie (intelligentsia, etc.) that has "identified itself" with the labour movement, it promises crumbs from those profits.

* There is a remark over the line of the original made in pencil in Lenin's handwriting: "Without exaggeration, *millions upon millions.*"—*Ed.*

The economic basis of "social-chauvinism" (this term being more precise than the term social-patriotism, as the latter embellishes the evil) and of opportunism is the same, namely, an alliance of an insignificant section of the "top" of the labour movement with *its* national bourgeoisie against the *class* that is exploited by the bourgeoisie. Social-chauvinism is opportunism brought to its logical conclusions.

The political essence of social-chauvinism and opportunism is the same. It expresses itself in class collaboration, repudiation of proletarian dictatorship, rejection of revolutionary action, obeisance to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois legality, lack of confidence in the proletariat, confidence in the bourgeoisie. The political ideas are the same, the political principles of tactics are also the same. Social-chauvinism is a direct continuation of and a logical conclusion from Millerandism, Bernsteinism, the English liberal Labour Party; it is their sum total, their consummation, their highest achievement.

Throughout the whole period between 1889 and 1914 we see two lines of Socialism, opportunist and revolutionary Socialism. There are now also two lines regarding the attitude of Socialism towards the war. Do not follow the method of pointing out *persons*, as practiced by the bourgeois and opportunist liars; take the *lines* apparent in a number of countries. Take ten European countries: Germany, England, Russia, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Belgium, France. In the first eight countries the division along the line dividing opportunism and revolutionism coincides with the line dividing social-chauvinists and revolutionary internationalists. The main *nuclei* of social-chauvinism in the social and political sense are the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and Co. in Germany, the Fabians and the Labour Party in England (the Independent Labour Party formed a bloc with both of them and in this bloc the influence of social-chauvinism was considerably stronger than in the British Socialist Party, in which about three-sevenths are internationalists, namely, 66 to 84), the *Nasha Zarya* and the Organisation Committee (also the *Nashe Dyelo*) in Russia, the party of Bissolati in Italy, the party of Troelstra in Holland, Branting and Co. in Sweden, the "Broad Minded" * in Bulgaria, Greulich and "his" people in Switzerland. Among the revolutionary Social-Democrats of *all* these countries there has already been audible a more or less sharp protest against social-chauvinism. Two countries out of ten are an exception, but even in those countries the internationalists are not absent, albeit weak; rather is it true that the facts about them are unknown (Vaillant has admitted that he received letters from internationalists which he did not publish) than that they do not exist.

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* Reformist Socialists.—*Ed.*

Social-chauvinism is consummated opportunism. (This is beyond doubt.) The alliance with the bourgeoisie was ideological and secret. It has become open and blunt. Social-chauvinism derives its strength from nowhere but from this alliance with the bourgeoisie and the general staffs of the armies. It is a lie when anybody says (Kautsky included) that the "masses" of the proletarians have shifted to chauvinism; the masses have *nowhere* been asked (with the exception, perhaps, of Italy where nine months before the declaration of war a discussion was conducted, and in Italy the masses were *against* the party of Bissolati). The masses were dumbfounded, panic-stricken, disunited, crushed by martial law. The free vote was the privilege of the leaders only—and they voted *for* the bourgeoisie against the proletariat! It is ridiculous and monstrous to think of opportunism as an *internal* party phenomenon! All the Marxists in Germany, France, and in other countries have always asserted and proven that opportunism is an expression of the influence of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat; that it is a bourgeois line of labour politics; that it is an alliance of an insignificant section of near-proletarian elements with the bourgeoisie. Having had decades to ripen under conditions of "peaceful" capitalism, opportunism by 1914-1915 became so ripe that it proved an open ally of the bourgeoisie. Unity with opportunism means unity of the proletariat with its national bourgeoisie, *i. e.*, it means submission to the latter, it means a split in the international revolutionary working class. We do not assert that an immediate separation from the opportunists in all countries is desirable, or even possible at present; we only say that such a separation has ripened, that it has become inevitable, that it is of a progressive nature, that it is necessary for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; that history, having turned from "peaceful capitalism" to imperialism, has thereby turned to such a split. "*Volentem ducunt fata, nolentem trahunt.*" *

The bourgeoisie of all the countries, first of all of the belligerent countries, has from the very beginning of the war agreed on praising those Socialists who recognise the "defence of the fatherland," *i. e.*, the defence of the predatory interests of the bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, and the imperialist war *against the proletariat.* See how this fundamental and most essential interest of the international bourgeoisie finds its way into the Socialist parties, into the labour movement, *there* to be expressed! The example of Germany is particularly instructive in this respect, since the epoch of the Second International witnessed the growth of the greatest party in that country; but we see the very same thing in other countries with only insignificant variation of form, outlook, outward appearance.

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* Fate leads the willing, drags the unwilling.—*Ed.*

The conservative German magazine, the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, in its issue of April, 1915, published an article by a *Social-Democrat*, a member of the Social-Democratic Party hiding behind the pseudonym Monitor. This opportunist blurted out the truth, openly indicating wherein consists the *essence* of the policy of the entire world bourgeoisie in relation to the labour movement of the twentieth century. One can neither wave it aside nor suppress it with brute force, he says. It must be demoralised from within by *buying* its upper stratum. It was in this way that the Anglo-French bourgeoisie had been acting for decades when it was buying the trade-union leaders, the Millerands, the Briands and Co. It is in this way that the German bourgeoisie acts at present. The behaviour of the Social-Democratic Party, says Monitor, in face of (and substantially *in the name* of) the bourgeoisie is "irreproachable" in the present war (*i. e.*, it serves irreproachably the bourgeoisie against the proletariat). "The process of regeneration" of the Social-Democratic Party into a national-liberal labour party proceeds splendidly, says Monitor. It would be *dangerous*, however, to the bourgeoisie, he adds, if the party were *to turn to the right:* "it must retain the character of a workers' party with Socialist ideals. For on the day when it gives this up a new party will arise to take up the rejected programme, giving it a still more radical formulation" [*Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1915, No. 4, pp. 50-51].

There is uncovered in these words what the bourgeoisie always and everywhere did under cover. "Radical" *words* are *needed* for the masses in order that they may believe them. The opportunists are ready to repeat those words hypocritically. They need, they require, *such* parties as were the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International. because they brought about the *defence of* *the bourgeoisie* by the Socialists during the crisis of 1914-1915. Exactly the same policy is pursued by the Fabians and the liberal leaders of the trade unions in England, the opportunists and the Jaurèsists in France. Monitor is a frank or cynical opportunist. Here is another shade, a covert or "honest" opportunist. (Engels was right when he once said that the "honest" opportunists are the most dangerous for the labour movement.) An example of such an opportunist is Kautsky.

In the *Neue Zeit*, No. 9, November 26, 1915,[206] he writes that the majority of the official party is violating its programme (Kautsky himself defended the policy of that majority for a whole year after the beginning of the war, defending the "defence of the fatherland" lie!). The opposition against the majority is growing, he says [p. 272] (*Die Opposition gegen die Mehrheit ist im Wachsen*). The masses are "in opposition" (*oppositionel*). "*Nach dem Kriege* [*nur* nach *dem Kriege?*] . . . *werden die Klassengegensätze sich so verschärfen, dass der Radikalismus in den Massen die Oberhand gewinnt*" [p. 272]. *Es "droht uns nach dem Kriege* [*nur* nach *dem Kriege?*] . . . *die Flucht der radikalen Elemente aus der Partei und ihr Zustrom zu einer Richtung antiparlamentarischer* [*?? soll heissen: ausserparlamentarischer*] *Massenaktionen. . . .*" "*So zerfällt unsere Partei in zwei Extreme, die nichts Gemeinsames haben.*" *

Kautsky wishes to represent the "happy medium." He wishes to reconcile those "two extremes" which "*have nothing in common*"*!* Now (sixteen months after the beginning of the war) he admits that the masses are revolutionary, while condemning revolutionary action at the very same moment, calling it "*Abenteuer*" "*in den Strassen*" ** [p. 272], Kautsky wishes to reconcile the revolutionary masses with the opportunist chiefs who have "nothing in common" with them—*but on what basis?* On the basis of words! On the basis of "Left" words of the "Left" minority in the Reichstag!! Let the minority, like Kautsky, condemn revolutionary *action*, calling it adventurist, but let it feed the masses with Left *words*.

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* "After the war [only *after* the war?] the class antagonisms will become so sharpened that radicalism will gain the upper hand among the masses [p. 272]. We are threatened with the flight of the radical element from the party after the war [only *after* the war?] . . . and with their rushing to join the current of anti-parliamentary [?? should be: extra-parliamentary] mass action. . . . Thus our party is divided into two extremes which have nothing in common."—*Ed.*

** Adventures in the streets.—*Ed.*

Then there will be peace in the party, unity with the Südekums, Legiens, Davids, Monitors!!

But this is Monitor's programme unchanged! It is the programme of the bourgeoisie expressed in a "sweet voice" and in sugary phrases!! The same programme was carried out also by Wurm when at the session of the Social-Democratic fraction of the Reichstag, March 8, 1915, "*er die Fraktion davor 'warnte,' den Bogen zu überspannen; in den Arbeitermassen wachse die Opposition gegen die Fraktionstaktik; es gelte, beim Marxistischen Zentrum zu verharren.*" [*Klassenkampf "gegen" den Krieg. Material zum "Fall Liebknecht." Als Manuskript gedruckt, S.* 67].*

Let us note that in the name of the Marxian centre (including Kautsky) it was admitted that the masses were in a revolutionary mood! This was March 8, 1915! After eight and a half months, on November 26, Kautsky again proposes to pacify the revolutionary masses by new phrases!!

Kautsky's opportunism differs from that of Monitor's only in words, only in shadings, only in the methods of reaching the *same goal*: to retain the influence of the opportunists (*i. e.*, the bourgeoisie) over the masses, to retain the submission of the proletariat to the opportunists (*i.e., to the bourgeoisie*)! Pannekoek and Gorter have correctly dubbed Kautsky's position as "passive radicalism." It is *verbiage*, to use an expression of the French who have had an occasion to study well this variety of revolutionism in the samples of their "home" products! I would rather prefer to call it covered-up, cowardly, sugary, hypocritical opportunism.

In substance the two trends of Social-Democracy differ at present not in words, not in phrases. In the art of combining the "defence of the fatherland" (*i. e.*, defence of bourgeois plundering) with phrases concerning Socialism, internationalism, freedom of the peoples, etc., Vandervelde, Renaudel, Sembat, Hyndman, Henderson, Lloyd George are not one jot inferior to Legien, Südekum, Kautsky, and Haase! The real difference begins with complete rejection of the defence of the fatherland in the present war, with complete acceptance of revolutionary action in connection with, *during*, and *after*, the war. In this, the only serious, the only matter-of-fact question, Kautsky is at one with Kolb and Heine.

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* "He warned the fraction not to try the patience of the masses too far, as there grows an opposition among the masses against the tactics of the fraction; one must stay with the Marxian centre." [*Class Struggle "against" the War. Material on the Liebknecht Case.* Published as manuscript, p. 67.]—*Ed.*

Compare the Fabians in England with the Kautskyists in Germany. The former are almost liberals, they have never recognised Marxism. Engels wrote of the Fabians on January 18, 1893: "A gang of careerists, judicious enough to understand the inevitability of a social overthrow, but by no means willing to entrust this gigantic work to the immature proletariat alone. . . . Their fundamental principle is fear of revolution. . . ." * On November 11, 1893, Engels wrote the following about them: "Haughty bourgeois, benevolently descending to the proletariat to liberate it from above, if only it is willing to understand that such a raw, uneducated mass cannot liberate itself, and can attain nothing without the charity of those clever attorneys, litterateurs, and sentimental females." ** How far from them the Kautskyists seem to be in their "theory"! In practice, however, in their attitude towards the war, they are *perfectly identical!* This is the best proof of how the Marxism of the Kautskyists has withered, how it has changed into a dead letter, a hypocritical phrase.

By what obvious sophisms the Kautskyists, after the beginning of the war, refuted the tactics of revolutionary proletarian action, unanimously adopted by the Socialists in Basle, may be seen from the following examples. Kautsky advanced his theory of "ultra-imperialism" under which he understood the substitution of "general exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital for the struggle of the national capitals against the other." [*Neue Zeit*, No. 4, April 30, 1915, p. 144.] At the same time Kautsky himself added: "Whether such a new phase of capitalism is at all realisable, we cannot say yet on the basis of existing data!!" Basing himself only on the fact that a new phase is "conceivable," without himself having the courage even to declare it "realisable," he rejects the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat *now* when the

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* In his letter to F. A. Sorge, Engels wrote: ". . . *eine Bande von Strebern, die Verstand genug haben, die Unvermeidlichkeit der sozialen Umwälzung einzusehen, die aber dem rohen Proletariat unmöglich diese Riesenarbeit allein anvertrauen. . . . Angst vor der Revolution ist ihr Grundprinzip.*" (*Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. a. an F. A. Sorge und andere*, Stuttgart, 1921, p. 390.) —*Ed.*

** In his letter to Sorge, Engels wrote: ". . . *hochnäsigen Bourgeois, die sich in Gnaden herbeilassen wollen, das Proletariat von oben herab zu befreien, wenn es nur so einsichtig sein will zu begriefen, dass so eine rohe ungebildete Masse sich nicht selbst befreien kann und zu nichts kommt ausser durch die Gnade dieser gescheiten Advokaten, Literaten und sentimentalen Weibsleute.*" (*Briefe an Sorge*, p. 401.)—*Ed.*

phase of crisis and war is obviously there! Revolutionary action is rejected by the very same authority of the Second International who, in 1909, wrote a book entitled *Der Weg zur Macht*, which was translated into nearly all the principal European languages and made clear the *connection* between the coming war and revolution, proving that "the revolution cannot be premature!"

In 1909 Kautsky proved that the epoch of "peaceful" capitalism had passed, that the epoch of wars and revolutions was coming. In 1912 the Basle Manifesto takes this view as the basis of all the tactics of the world Socialist parties. In 1914 there comes the war, there comes the "economic and political crisis" as foreseen at Stuttgart and Basle. And now Kautsky invents theoretical "subterfuges" to use *against* revolutionary tactics!

P. B. Axelrod advances the same ideas, only he clothes them in a little more "Left" phraseology: He is writing in free Switzerland and he wishes to influence the Russian revolutionary workers. In his pamphlet, *Die Krise und die Aufgaben der internationalen Sozialdemokratie*, Zurich, 1915, we find the discovery that is so pleasant for the opportunists and bourgeois of the whole world, namely, that "*das Internationalisierungsproblem der Arbeiterbewegung ist mit der Revolutionierung unserer Kampfesformen und Methoden nicht identisch*" [p. 37] * and that "*der Schwerpunkt des Internationalisierungsproblems der proletarischen Befreiungsbewegung liegt in der weiteren Entwicklung und Internationalisierung eben jener Alltagspraxis* [p. 40]." "*. . . Beispielweise müssen die Arbeiterschutz- und Versicherungsgesetzgebung . . . zum Objekt ihrer* [*der Arbeiter*] *internationalen Aktionen und Organisationen werden.*" **

It goes without saying that not only the Südekums, Legiens, and Hyndmans, together with the Vanderveldes, but also the Lloyd Georges, Naumanns and Briands, fully approve such "internationalism"! (Axelrod defends Kautsky's internationalism without having quoted or analysed a single one of his arguments in favour of defending the fatherland. Axelrod, like the Francophile social-chauvinists, is even afraid to mention that the Basle Manifesto speaks precisely of revolutionary tactics.) For the future, the uncertain, unknown future, Axelrod is ready to advance the most revolutionary Left phrases, like saying that the coming International will meet, "*entgegentreten wird* [*den Regierungen im Falle der Kriegsgefahr*] *mit der Entfachung eines revolutionären Sturmes. . . . Einleitung der sozialistischen Revolution*" [p. 14].* What menacing words! When, however, there is a question of applying revolutionary tactics right now during the present crisis, Axelrod says "*ganz à la Kautsky*": "*Revolutionäre Massenaktionen*"—such tactics "*hätte noch eine gewisse Berechtigung, wenn wir unmittelbar am Vorabend der sozialen Revolution ständen, ähnlich wie es etwa in Russland seit den Studentendemonstrationen des Jahres 1901 der Fall war, die das Herannahen entscheidender Kämpfe gegen den Absolutismus ankündigten*" ** [pp. 40-41], and then he thunders against the "*Utopien*," "*Bakunismus*," entirely in the spirit of Kolb, Heine, Südekum, and Legien. The example of Russia exposes Axelrod most flagrantly. Four years passed between 1901 and 1905, and nobody could guarantee in 1901 that the revolution in Russia (the first revolution against absolutism) would take place in four years. Europe, before the social revolution, finds itself in exactly the same situation. Nobody could guarantee that the first revolution of this kind would come in four years. That a revolutionary situation, however, *is there*, is a fact that was predicted in 1912, and became a reality in 1914. The demonstrations of the workers and starving citizens in Russia and in Germany in 1914 also undoubtedly "*ankündigen das Herannahen entscheidender Kämpfe.*" *** It is the direct and undisputed duty of Socialists to support and develop *these* demonstrations and every kind of revolutionary mass action (economic and political strikes, movements in the army, up to insurrection and civil war); to furnish them with clear slogans; to create an underground organisation and literature, without which it is impossible to call the masses to revolution; to help them get a clear understanding of the revolution, and to organise for it. It is in this way that the Social-Democrats acted in Russia in 1901 on the eve ("*am Vorabend*") of the bourgeois revolution which began in 1905, but did not end even in 1915. In the very same way the Social-Democrats are obliged to act in Europe in 1914-1915 "*am Vorabend der sozialistischen Revolution.*" Revolutions are never born ready-made; they do not spring out of Jupiter's head; they do not kindle at once. They are always preceded by a process of fermentations, crises, movements, revolts, *beginnings* of revolutions, those beginnings *not always* developing to the very end (if, for instance, the revolutionary class is not strong enough). Axelrod invents pretexts in order to detract the Social-Democrats from their *duty* of helping to develop the revolutionary movements which are already starting within the existing revolutionary situation. Axelrod defends the tactics of David and the Fabians while covering up his opportunism with Left phrases.

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* "The problem of internationalising the labour movement is not identical with the revolutionising of the forms and methods of our struggle."—*Ed.*

** "The point of gravity of the problem of internationalising the proletarian movement for freedom lies in the future development and internationalisation of the everyday practices [p. 40] . . . for instance, labour protection and insurance legislation must become the object of their [workers'] *international* actions and organisations."—*Ed.*

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* "Will meet [the governments in case of war danger] with the release of a revolutionary storm . . . the inauguration of the Socialist revolution."—*Ed.*

** "Revolutionary mass action"—such tactics "would have a certain justification if we were immediately on the eve of a social revolution in the very same way, for instance, as was the case in Russia beginning with the student demonstrations of 1901 which were the precursors of the approaching decisive battles against absolutism."—*Ed.*

*** "Proclaims the approaching decisive battles."—*Ed.*

"*Den Weltkrieg in einen Bürgerkrieg umwandeln zu wollen wäre Wahnsinn gewesen,*" * writes the leader of the opportunists, E. David [*Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg* (*Social-Democracy in the World War*), Berlin, 1915, p. 172], in objecting to the manifesto of the Central Committee of our party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which was published November 1, 1914. That manifesto advanced the civil war slogan, adding: "*wie gross die Schwierigkeiten dieser Umwandlung zur gegebenen Zeit auch sein mögen,—die Sozialisten werden niemals ablehnen, die Vorarbeiten in der bezeichneten Richtung systematisch, unbeugsam, und energisch auszuführen, falls der Krieg zur Tatsache geworden ist.*" * * [Quoted by David, p. 171.] We must note that one month before the appearance of David's book (May 1, 1915), our party published [*Sotsial-Demokrat,* No. 40, March 29] a resolution on the war which advocates systematic "steps towards changing the present imperialist war into civil war," the latter being defined in the following way: (1) refusal to vote for military appropriations; (2) rejection of "*Burgfrieden*"; *** (3) creation of an underground organisation; (4) support of the soldiers' fraternisation in the trenches; (5) support of every kind of revolutionary mass action of the proletariat in general.****

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* "It would have been madness to wish to transform the World War into civil war."—*Ed.*

** However difficult such transformation may appear at one time or another, Socialists will never relinquish systematic, insistent, unflinching preparatory work in this direction once the war has become a fact.—*Ed.*

*** Civil peace.—*Ed.*

**** See p. 147.—*Ed.*

Plekhanov, a typical representative of the social-chauvinists of the "Quadruple Entente," gave an estimation of revolutionary tactics entirely in harmony with David. He called the thoughts. . . .*

Written at the end of 1915.
First published in *Proletarskaya Revolutsiya,* No. 5 (28), 1924.

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* The end of the manuscript has been lost.—*Ed.*

INTRODUCTION TO N. I. BUKHARIN'S *IMPERIALISM AND WORLD ECONOMY*[207]

THE importance and timeliness of the topic treated in the work of N. I. Bukharin require no particular elucidation. The problem of imperialism is not only a most essential one, but, we may say, it is the most essential problem in that realm of economic science which examines the changing forms of capitalism in recent times. Every one interested not only in economics but in any sphere of present-day social life must acquaint himself with the facts relating to this problem, as presented by the author in such detail on the basis of the latest available data. Needless to say that there can be no concrete historical analysis of the present war, if that analysis does not have for its basis a full understanding of the nature of imperialism, both from its economic and political aspects. Without this, it is impossible to approach an understanding of the economic and diplomatic situation of the last decades, and without such an understanding, it is ridiculous even to speak of forming a correct view on the war. From the point of view of Marxism, which most clearly expresses the requirements of modern science in general, one can only smile at the "scientific" value of a method which consists in culling from diplomatic "documents" or from daily political events only such isolated facts as would be pleasant and convenient for the ruling classes of one country, and parading this as a historic analysis of the war. Such is the case, for instance, with Plekhanov, who parted ways with Marxism altogether when, instead of analysing the fundamental characteristics and tendencies of imperialism as a system of the economic relations of modern highly developed, mature, and over-ripe capitalism, he started angling after bits of facts to please the Purishkeviches and the Milyukovs. Under such conditions the scientific concept of imperialism is reduced to the level of a swear-word addressed to the immediate competitors, rivals, and opponents of the two above-mentioned Russian imperialists, whose class basis is entirely identical with that of their foreign rivals and opponents. In these times of forsaken words, renounced principles, overthrown world conceptions, abandoned resolutions and solemn promises, one must not be surprised at that.

The scientific significance of N. I. Bukharin's work consists particularly in this, that he examines the fundamental facts of world economy relating to imperialism as a whole, as a definite stage in the growth of most highly developed capitalism. There had been an epoch of a comparatively "peaceful capitalism," when it had finally overcome feudalism in the advanced countries of Europe and was in a position to develop comparatively tranquilly and harmoniously, "peacefully" spreading over tremendous areas of still unoccupied lands, and of countries not yet finally drawn into the capitalist vortex. Of course, even in that epoch, marked approximately by the years 1871 and 1914, "peaceful" capitalism created conditions of life that were very far from being really peaceful both in the military and in a general class sense. For nine-tenths of the population of the advanced countries, for hundreds of millions of peoples in the colonies and in the backward countries this epoch was not one of "peace" but of oppression, tortures, horrors that seemed the more terrifying since they appeared to be without end. This epoch has gone forever. It has been followed by a new epoch, comparatively more impetuous, full of abrupt changes, catastrophes, conflicts, an epoch that no longer appears to the toiling masses as horror without end but as an end full of horrors.

It is highly important to bear in mind that this change was caused exclusively by the direct development, growth, continuation of the deep-seated and fundamental tendencies of capitalism and production of commodities in general. The growth of commodity exchange, the growth of large-scale production are fundamental tendencies observable for centuries throughout the whole world. At a certain stage in the development of exchange, at a certain stage in the growth of large-scale production, namely, at the stage that was reached approximately at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, commodity exchange had created such an internationalisation of economic relations, and such an internationalisation of capital, accompanied by such a vast increase in large-scale production, that free competition began to be replaced by monopoly. The prevailing types were no longer enterprises freely competing inside the country and through intercourse between countries, but monopoly alliances of entrepreneurs, trusts. The typical ruler of the world became finance capital, a power that is peculiarly mobile and flexible, peculiarly intertwined at home and internationally, peculiarly deprived of individuality and divorced from the immediate processes of production, peculiarly easy to concentrate, a power that has already made peculiarly large strides on the road of concentration, so that literally several hundred billionaires and millionaires hold in their hands the fate of the whole world.

Reasoning theoretically and in *the abstract,* one may arrive at the conclusion reached by Kautsky (who, like many others, has parted ways with Marxism, but in a different manner), that the time is not far off when those magnates of capital will unite into one world trust which will replace the rivalries and the struggle of nationally limited finance capital by an internationally united finance capital. Such a conclusion, however, is just as abstract, simplified, and incorrect as an analogous conclusion, arrived at by our "Struveists" and "Economists" of the nineties of the last century. The latter, proceeding from the progressive nature of capitalism, from its inevitability, from its final victory in Russia, at times became apologetic (worshipping capital, making peace agreements with it, praising it instead of fighting it); at times became nonpolitical (*i. e.*, rejected politics, or the importance of politics, denied the probability of general political convulsions, etc., this being the favourite error of the "Economists"); at times even preached "strike" pure-and-simple ("general strike" to them was the apotheosis of the strike movement; it was elevated to a position where other forms of the movement are forgotten or ignored; it was a *salto mortale* from capitalism to its destruction by strikes alone). There are indications that the undisputed progressiveness of capitalism, compared with the semi-philistine "paradise" of free competition, and the inevitability of imperialism with its final vctory over "peaceful" capital in the advanced countries of the world, may also at present lead to political and non-political errors and misadventures no less numerous or varied.

Particularly as regards Kautsky, his open break with Marxism has led him, not to reject or forget politics, nor to skim over the numerous and varied political conflicts, convulsions and transformations that particularly characterise the imperialist epoch; nor to become an apologist of imperialism; but to *dream about a "peaceful capitalism."* "Peaceful" capitalism has been replaced by unpeaceful, militant, catastrophic imperialism. This Kautsky is compelled to admit, for he admitted it as early as 1909 in a special work[208] in which he drew sound conclusions as a Marxist for the last time. If it is thus impossible simply, directly, and bluntly to dream of going from imperialism back to "peaceful" capitalism, is it not possible to give those essentially petty-bourgeois dreams the appearance of innocent contemplations regarding "peaceful" ultra-imperialism? If the name of ultra-imperialism is given to an international unification of national (or, more correctly, state-bound) imperialisms which "would be able" to eliminate the conflicts that are the most unpleasant, the most disturbing and distasteful to the petty bourgeois, such as wars, political convulsions, etc., then why not turn away from the present epoch of imperialism that has already arrived—the epoch that stares one in the face, that is full of all sorts of conflicts and catastrophes? Why not turn to innocent dreams of a comparatively peaceful, comparatively conflictless, comparatively non-catastrophic ultra-imperialism? And why not wave aside the "exacting" tasks that have been posed by the epoch of imperialism now ruling in Europe? Why not turn, instead, to dreaming that this epoch will perhaps soon be over, that perhaps it will be followed by a comparatively "peaceful" epoch of ultra-imperialism which demands no such "sharp" tactics? Kautsky says directly that at any rate "such a new [ultra-imperialist] phase of capitalism is thinkable. Whether, however, it can be realised, to answer this question we have not yet sufficient data." [*Neue Zeit*, April 30, 1915, p. 144.][209]

In this tendency to evade the imperialism that is here and to pass in dreams to an epoch of "ultra-imperialism," of which we do not even know whether it is realisable, there is not a grain of Marxism. In this reasoning Marxism is admitted for that "new phase of capitalism," the *realisability* of which its inventor himself fails to vouch for, whereas for the present, the existing phase of capitalism, he offers us not Marxism, but a petty-bourgeois and deeply reactionary tendency to soften contradictions. There was a time when Kautsky promised to be a Marxist in the coming restless and catastrophic epoch, which he was compelled to foresee and definitely recognise when writing his work in 1909 about the coming war. Now, when it has become absolutely clear that that epoch has arrived, Kautsky again only *promises* to be a Marxist in the coming epoch of ultra-imperialism, of whose realisation he is not at all certain! In other words, we have any number of his promises to be a Marxist some time in another epoch, not under present conditions, not at this moment. For to-morrow we have Marxism on credit, Marxism as a promise, Marxism deferred. For to-day we have a petty-bourgeois opportunist theory—and not only a theory—of softening contradictions. It is something like the internationalism for export prevailing in our days among ardent—ever so ardent!—internationalists and Marxists who sympathise with every expression of internationalism in the enemy's camp, anywhere but not at home, not among their allies; who sympathise with democracy as long as it remains a promise of their allies; who sympathise with the "self-determination of nations" but not of those that are dependent upon the nation honoured by the membership of the sympathiser—in a word, this is one of the thousand and one varieties of hypocrisy prevailing in our times.

Can one, however, deny that in the abstract a new phase of capitalism to follow imperialism, namely, a phase of ultra-imperialism, is "thinkable"? No. In the abstract one can think of such a phase. In practice, however, he who rejects the hard tasks of to-day in the name of dreams about easy tasks of the future becomes an opportunist. Theoretically it means to fail to base oneself on the developments now going on in real life, to *detach* oneself from them in the name of dreams. There is no doubt that the development is going *in the direction* of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and all states without excetption. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such stress, with such a tempo, with such contradictions, conflicts, and convulsions—not only economic, but also political, national, etc., etc.—that *before* a single world trust will be reached, before the respective national finance capitals will have formed a world union of "ultra-imperialism," imperialism will inevitably explode, capitalism will turn into its opposite.

Written in December, 1915.
First published in *Pravda*, No. 17 (3549), January 21, 1927.
Signed: V. Ilyin.

APPENDICES

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. The article *Karl Marx* was begun by Lenin in July, 1914, in Galicia, before the outbreak of the war, and was finished in Switzerland, on November 17. The article was written for the Russian Encyclopedia published by Granat. When sending the article to the publishers, Lenin sent with it a letter, which has been published by the Lenin Institute in the preface to Lenin's pamphlet *Marx, Engels, Marxism*, pp. 3-4 (Lenin Institute, 1925). Lenin's article (signed V. Ilyin) was reprinted in an abridged form in Vol. XXVIII of the Granat Encyclopedia (7th edition), under the heading *Marx* (pp. 219-243), with a bibliography of Marxism printed as an annex on a separate sheet (pp. 243^1-246^1). A comparison of the manuscript with the text as printed in the Encyclopedia shows that there were omitted in the latter not only Lenin's chapter on the "Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat" (see p. 42), but also that on "Socialism" (see p. 39; this was printed in 1926, in Vol. XL of the Encyclopedia); furthermore, there were a number of other cuts and changes of an editorial nature or those demanded by the censorship. In the present edition the full text of Lenin's manuscript is reproduced without any abbreviations, and with no corrections except those of obvious mistakes. In 1918, the "Priboi" publishers, in Petrograd, issued in pamphlet form the article on Marx as it had appeared in the Encyclopedia, with a preface by Lenin (see *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIII).—13.

2. The Theses on the War ("The Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War") were written by Lenin in the early days of September, 1914. On September 5, after his release from prison in Galicia, Lenin arrived in Berne, Switzerland. On September 6 and 7 he presented the "theses" at a meeting of the group of Bolsheviks living in Berne. Among those attending the meeting were N. Krupskaya, G. Zinoviev, F. Samoilov (one of the five Bolshevik Duma members), G. Shklovsky, G. Safarov, and two or three other Bolsheviks. This small meeting adopted the theses in full. The theses were thereupon sent out to the several sections of Bolsheviks abroad, with the signature "Group of Social-Democrats, Members of the R.S.-D.L.P." On the copy from which the theses are reproduced here Lenin had written, to protect the secrecy of the meetings: "Copied from an appeal issued in Denmark." A few days later, F. Samoilov took the theses along to Russia to submit them for discussion to the Russian organisations, the Russian section of the Central Committee, and the Duma group. In the middle of October, when A. Shlyapnikov arrived from Russia, it became known that the Russian section of the Central Committee, as well as the Duma group, had concurred in the theses, in which, however, substantial modifications had been made in Russia. The theses had also been discussed in some of the big factories in Petrograd.

They were also sent to the Italian Socialist Party, were discussed at the Italo-Swiss Conference at Lugano, September 27, 1914, and were partly embodied in the resolution of that Conference. It had been planned originally to use the theses as a basis for a special manifesto to be issued for general circulation by the Central Committee, and in which the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward the war would be stated. The text of the manifesto had been drafted. Upon the receipt of the reply of the Duma group to Vandervelde's appeal, the draft was revised in some points, and it was decided to have it published in No. 33 of the *Sotsial-Demokrat* (central organ of the Bolsheviks), which was then in preparation. The "theses" thus appeared in print first in the form of a political manifesto of the Central Committee, under the title "The War and Russian Social-Democracy" (see p. 76). The "theses" are published here in the original form.—61.

3. On August 4, 1914, the German Social-Democrats voted in the Reichstag for appropriations to the government for the conduct of the war. In behalf of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag, Hugo Haase read in behalf of the party a political declaration, which concluded with the words: "We shall vote for the appropriations demanded by the government." It appeared later that there had been no unanimity in the Social-Democratic group on the question of voting on the war appropriations, 78 members having been in favour of voting for the appropriations, as against 14 opposed to such a vote (including Karl Liebknecht). Before the "outside world," however, the group came out as unit, with a single declaration, the minority having been forbidden to make any separate statement. During the vote, Liebknecht left the session of the Reichstag. In its issue of August 5, 1914, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, central organ of the Austrian Social-Democracy, described the day when the war budget had been voted upon at the Reichstag as "the day of the German people."—61.

4. A few days after the declaration of war, Emile Vandervelde, leader of the Belgian Socialists and President of the International Socialist Bureau, joined the Belgian cabinet as Minister of Justice.—61.

5. Following upon the war declaration, the French Socialist Party delegated Jules Guesde (as "Minister without portfolio") and Marcel Sembat (as Minister of Public Works) into the cabinet of "National Defence." To explain this move, *L'Humanité*, central organ of the party, published a statement addressed to the party, and signed by its leading bodies, the Socialist Group in the Chamber of Deputies, the Permanent Administrative Commission (Central Committee) and the Administrative Board of *L'Humanité*, in which it was said: "In this instance we have not to do with a simple parliamentary combination, a simple joining of a bourgeois government, such as has been condemned by the International Socialist Congress at Paris. What is at stake to-day is the future of the nation, the existence of France."—61.

6. *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, organ of the German Revisionists, founded in 1897. During the war years this magazine became the centre of the most

extreme social-chauvinism. Its leading contributors were Heine, Lensch, Haenisch.—62.

7. Plekhanov's lecture on "The Attitude of Socialists toward the War," given on October 11, 1914, was sponsored at Lausanne by the local (Menshevik) auxiliary group of the R.S.-D.L.P. Lenin took the floor as Plekhanov's opponent, and no one else spoke at the meeting. The reports of Plekhanov's lecture, Lenin's speech, and Plekhanov's rejoinder were published under the title "The Leaders of Russian Social-Democracy on the War," in Nos. 31, 32, and 33 of the internationalist paper *Golos* (see note 12), under dates of October 18, 19, and 21, 1914. The speeches at the meeting were reported by the correspondent of the *Golos*, who signed his report with the initials I. K.—65.

8. On September 27, 1914, there was held at Lugano an Italo-Swiss Socialist Conference, "called at the initiative of some prominent Russian Socialists," as the *Golos* reported in its issue of October 4, referring to the part taken in the preliminaries to the Conference by Lenin, whose theses on the war were discussed at the Conference and partly embodied in its resolution. Those attending the Conference, on the Swiss side, were Pflüger (Zurich), Schenkel, Robert Grimm (Berne), Ch. Naine and others, and, of the Italians, Serrati, Balabanova, Lazzari, Mussolini, Morgari, Turati, Modigliani and others. The resolution adopted by the Conference characterised the war as an imperialist one and advocated the international struggle of the proletariat for peace. The decisions of that Conference were not consistently internationalist and revolutionary; they nevertheless marked a step forward in preparing the way for the restoration of international proletarian unity.—65.

9. Lenin refers here to Kautsky's article "Sozialdemokratie im Kriege," published in No. 1 of the *Neue Zeit*, theoretical organ of the German Social-Democracy, of October 2, 1914.—65.

10. The Serbian Social-Democracy, which first of all the Socialist parties had to define its attitude toward the war, took without any hesitation an internationalist position. Among the 166 members of the Skupshchina (Parliament) there were two Social-Democratic Deputies (Lantsevich and Katslerovich), and they voted against war appropriations. The Serbian Social-Democratic paper, *Radnicke Novine*, published in Nish, likewise fought against chauvinism.—66.

11. "The workers have no fatherland,"—from the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels.—66.

12. *Golos*, daily paper of the internationalist wing of the Mensheviks, published in Paris, with the participation of a few former Bolsheviks. Its first issue appeared September 13, 1914. The outstanding contributors were Martov, Trotsky, Lozovsky, Manuilsky, and Lunacharsky. The first five issues appeared under the title *Nash Golos*. On January 13, 1915, the *Golos* was suppressed by the French government at the insistence of the Russian embassy, and in its place the *Nashe Slovo* was started.—66.

13. Lenin's lecture on "The Proletariat and the War" was given at Lausanne, on October 14, 1914, two days after Plekhanov's social-chauvinist lecture, and was published in Nos. 37 and 38 of the Paris *Golos,* of October 25 and 27. It was reported by the correspondent of the *Golos* (signed I. K.), who noted, among other things, that "Lenin's lecture was given before a large audience."—67.

14. Kautsky's pamphlet *Der Weg zur Macht* was issued in 1909 by the *Vorwärts* publishing house. It was published in English under the title *The Road to Power.*—69.

15. Some time between July 25 and 31 the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks issued a leaflet against the war which was then threatening, in which the slogans were "Down with the War," "Down with the Tsarist Government," and "Long Live the Revolution." In the middle of August the same Committee issued another leaflet against the war, with an appeal to organise for the struggle against autocracy, and the slogans "Down with Autocracy," "Long Live Socialism," and "Long Live the Democratic Republic." Between August 28 and September 2 the St. Petersburg Committee issued one more illegal proclamation against the war, which contained the appeal: "Organise into political parties," "Procure arms, there is no time to be lost." Another leaflet of the Committee against the war appeared later in September; it is to this, apparently, that Lenin refers here.—70.

16. From Engels' article "Sozialismus in Deutschland" ("Socialism in Germany"), published in the *Neue Zeit,* Jahrgang X, 1891-1892, Vol. I, No. 19. Lenin has in mind Engels' expression: "Be the first to shoot, Messrs. Bourgeois!" This article, permeated with a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, has been more than once made the object of "interpretation" by the social-chauvinists, with a view to finding in it a justification of their betrayal of Socialism.—70.

17. *Vorwärts,* the central organ of the German Social-Democracy, printed on September 27, 1914, an article "Germany and Foreign Countries," in which it was timidly suggested that the German and French workers had been drawn into the war against their will. General Von Kessel, Supreme Commander of the Brandenburg district, thereupon ordered the *Vorwärts* to discontinue publication. Upon the intercession of the Social-Democratic Deputies Haase and Fischer, Kessel consented to repeal his order, on condition, however, "that the *Vorwärts* refrain in the future from touching on the subjects of class hatred and class struggle." The editors accepted this condition, and the *Vorwärts* reappeared on October 1 with Kessel's order authorising the resumption of the publication printed on the front page.—70.

18. An expression used by Plekhanov in his lecture given in Lausanne on October 14, 1914, on "The Attitude of Socialists towards the War." The lecture was reported in the *Golos* of October 18, 20, and 21, 1914.—71.

19. The Stuttgart Congress, the Seventh International Socialist Congress, held on August 18-24, 1907. The first and the most important item on the agenda of the Congress was "Militarism and International Conflicts." Discussion of this subject was conducted only within the commission (of 67 members) appointed for the preliminary consideration of the resolution. Four factions confronted each other in the commission on the problem of the attitude of international Social-Democracy in the eventuality of a war. The Anarcho-Syndicalists (G. Hervé) advocated in their motion a war strike and armed insurrection in the event of any war, irrespective of its nature or characteristics. Jules Guesde and his followers maintained that raising the matter of anti-war activity into a special problem results in the weakening of general Socialist propaganda, and that the several Socialist parties ought, therefore, to concentrate all their attention upon general propaganda, without undertaking any special measures to fight against the war menace. The Centre included, on the one hand, a German group (A. Bebel, Vollmar) and, on the other, a French one (J. Jaurès, E. Vaillant). Bebel's motion recommended that the Congress confine itself to confirming the decisions of the preceding International Congresses, and in his addresses Bebel admitted that participation in the defence of the fatherland might be considered. The French Centre group, in their motion, frankly spoke of the necessity of defending the fatherland in the "menaced" countries. The revolutionary-Marxist wing was represented in the commission by the Russian and the Polish delegations (Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg). For the purpose of drafting the final text of the resolution a sub-commission of 12 was appointed, in which the Left Wing was represented by Rosa Luxemburg; at Lenin's suggestion she acted as representative of the Russian Bolsheviks also. The resolution as drafted by the sub-commission and then adopted unanimously by the commission was based upon Bebel's motion. Five additions proposed by Lenin, Luxemburg and others were adopted and inserted in the text of the resolution in full. One of those additions forms the last two paragraphs of the final text of the resolution. In reference to these two paragraphs Lenin says: "I remember well that the final drafting of this amendment was preceded by lengthy direct negotiations between our group and Bebel. The first draft spoke of revolutionary propaganda and revolutionary action in a much more direct manner. We showed it to Bebel, and he said: 'I cannot accept this, for otherwise the legal authorities will dissolve our organisations, and we are not going to risk this as long as there is not anything serious confronting us.' Upon consultation with professional jurists and repeated redrafting of the text, so as to express the same thought in a lawful form, the final formula was devised, which Bebel consented to have adopted." (See Lenin's note in Zinoviev's book *The War and the Crisis of Socialism* (in Russian), Zinoviev's *Collected Works*, Vol. VIII, Leningrad, 1926, p. 582). The report of the commission was presented at the plenary session of the Congress by Vandervelde. The resolution was adopted unanimously and without discussion (see Appendices: Documents, I).—71.

20. The Copenhagen Congress, the Eighth International Socialist Congress, was held from August 28 to September 3, 1910. The resolution of the Con

gress on "International Arbitration and Disarmament" confirmed the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress on war, and formulated a number of points to constitute the programme of all Socialist parties in their struggle against war, namely: (a) compulsory submission of all conflicts between countries to the decision of international arbitration courts; (b) general disarmament; (c) abolition of secret diplomacy; (d) right of nations to self-determination. The last two paragraphs of the Stuttgart resolution on militarism and international conflicts were reproduced in full in the resolution of the Copenhagen Congress. In conclusion, the resolution directed the International Socialist Bureau, in the event of international conflicts, to call a conference of the labour parties of the countries involved for the purpose of co-ordinating common action against war. A lively discussion was caused both in the commission and at the plenary session by a motion introduced by Vaillant and Keir Hardie, recommending that the general strike be declared the most effective means for the prevention of war. The resolution read in part: "Among the means to be used in order to prevent and hinder war, the Congress considers as particularly efficacious the general strike, especially in the industries that supply war with its implements (arms and ammunition, transportation, etc.), as well as the propaganda and popular action in their most active forms." The Congress declined that amendment and referred it to the International Socialist Bureau for further study and resubmission to the congress which was to be held in Vienna in 1914.—71.

21. The Extraordinary Basle Congress was held on November 24 and 25, 1912. It had been called for a protest against the Balkan War and the menace of a general European war. The resolution, or manifesto, of the Basle Congress combined the resolutions of the Congresses of Stuttgart and of Copenhagen, and strongly emphasised the imperialist substance of the coming war, calling upon all Socialists to fight vigorously against it (see Appendices: Documents, II.)—71.

22. Keir Hardie, leader of the Independent Labour Party of England, came out against England's imperialist policy in the columns of the *Labour Leader*, the party weekly.—72.

23. The reference here is to two lectures delivered by Lenin in Lausanne, on October 14, 1914, on "The Proletariat and the War," and in Geneva, on October 15, 1914, on "The European War and Socialism." Lenin's lectures were organised immediately after Plekhanov's chauvinist lecture on "The Attitude of the Socialists towards the War," given in Lausanne, on October 11, 1914, when Lenin took the floor for a sharp criticism of Plekhanov's position.—73.

24. The story of the "Reply to Vandervelde" is as follows. Upon the outbreak of the war, the Belgian Minister of War addressed a request to Prince I. A. Kudashev, Russian Minister in Belgium, to obtain permission for a telegram to be transmitted from Vandervelde to the Russian Socialists, with an appeal to them to join actively in the struggle against "Prussian militarism."

Kudashev insisted upon seeing the text of the telegram and meeting Vandervelde. The meeting took place in the reception room of the War Minister. Kudashev edited the text of the telegram, which was addressed to the Social-Democratic group at the Duma, and substituted "struggle against Prussian Junkerdom" for the words "struggle against imperialism." The telegram was then sent to the address of the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which delivered it to N. S. Chkheidze. Before that message had reached the Duma group it was published in the entire bourgeois press. The Bolshevik members of the Duma group (including G. I. Petrovsky, A. E. Badayev, M. K. Muranov, F. N. Samoilov, N. R. Shagov), at a party conference held together with the leading workers of the St. Petersburg organisation and a representative of the Bureau of the Central Committee (those present included L. B. Kamenev, N. K. Krestinsky, etc.) on October 13-14, 1914, in Finland, at a place about three miles from the station Mustamyaki, drafted the reply to Vandervelde to which Lenin refers here. That reply, with some modifications introduced by the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee, was published in No. 33 of the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, and was signed by the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. On the other hand, the Liquidators at St. Petersburg, in their reply to Vandervelde, declared that "we do not in our activities oppose the war." As regards the Chkheidze group, it kept silent on the matter. The central body of the Mensheviks, the Organisation Committee, plainly shielding the Liquidators, addressed to Vandervelde a complaint against the disorganising policies of the Bolsheviks.—73.

25. Lenin refers here to an article by E. Smirnov, "The War and European Democracy," published in the liberal *Russkiye Vyedomosti* of September 16, 1914, and to a letter by P. Maslov published in the September 23 issue of the same paper under the title "The War and the Commercial Treaties." No articles or notes by either Smirnov or Maslov could be found in the *Russkoye Slovo* for that period.—73.

26. At the beginning of the war there were considerable political vacillations within the Committee of Bolshevik organisations abroad, and also within the Paris section of the Bolsheviks, especially among the intellectuals. Many members of the Paris section, such as Antonov-Britman, member of the Committee of Foreign Organisations of the R. S.-D. L. P., N. V. Kuznetsov (N. I. Sapozhkov), Ilya (Dzhaparidze), and others, enlisted as volunteers in the French army, in spite of the resolution adopted by the majority of the section against volunteering. Ekk (Mukhin), one of the Bolshevik volunteers, not a member of the section, drafted the project of a joint declaration of volunteers, Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and Socialists-Revolutionists, of whom eighty had enlisted in the French army as "Russian republicans." The draft of the declaration was adopted by a commission consisting of two Bolsheviks, two Mensheviks, and one Socialist-Revolutionist, and was published in the French press. At the departure of the volunteers from Paris Plekhanov delivered a valedictory address. Lenin emphatically expressed his disapproval of this step of the group of Bolsheviks. The majority of the Paris section of Bolsheviks declared against volunteering.—73.

27. The lecture of Kossovsky, member of the Bund, was delivered in Berne in the middle of October, 1914.—73.

28. When speaking of Martov's position, Lenin evidently has in mind Martov's open letter to Gustave Hervé published in No. 13 of *Golos*, of September 25, 1914, and containing a protest against V. Burtsev's letter to the editor of the London *Times*, which stated that in Russia "all parties without exception have given the government their support," and also Martov's article, "Peace," in No. 19 of *Golos*, of October 3, 1914, containing his platform, and his article, "The *Vorwärts* Is Dead," in No. 23 of the same paper, October 9.—73.

29. The Brussels Bloc was an anti-Bolshevik coalition created at the "Reunion" Conference which met at Brussels on July 16 and 17, 1914, at the call of the International Socialist Bureau, for the purpose of uniting the various factions and groups of Russian Social-Democracy. The Conference was attended by the members of the Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau, Vandervelde, Anseele, Bertrand, Huysmans, Kautsky, Rubanovich, Nemec, and by the delegates of the following organisations and groups: Organisation Committee of the Liquidators (Axelrod, Martov and others), Bund (Abramovich), *Borba* group (Trotsky), *Vperyod* group (Alexinsky), *Yedinstvo* group (Plekhanov), Polish Socialist Party (Valecki), Lithuanian Social-Democrats (Mickevicz-Kapsukas), Polish Social-Democrats (Rosa Luxemburg), Polish Social-Democrats, opposition group (Hanecki and Malecki); delegates of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Inessa Armand, M. F. Vladimirsky, and I. F. Popov), of the Central Committee of Latvian Social-Democracy (Y. A. Berzin, etc.). Lenin wrote for the Conference a report in behalf of the Central Committee of the R. S.-D. L. P., in which he set forth the substance of the controversies and produced data taken from the labour mass movement in support of the correctness of the Bolshevik position and in refutation of the Liquidators. The Central Committee refused to repeat the "experiment" of reunion with the Liquidators, which had been tried by various anti-Bolshevik groups, until such time as the Liquidators should completely renounce their tactics, that is, until "they should cease being Liquidators." As requisites of union Lenin put forth a number of conditions, of which the principal were the following: (1) confirmation of the party resolutions on the Liquidators adopted at the Paris Conference of January, 1909, and at the plenary session of the Central Committee of January, 1910, and, in particular, a statement to the effect that any attempt to impair the role of the illegal party organisation is incompatible with membership in the R. S.-D. L. P.; (2) adoption of the fundamental revolutionary slogans of a democratic republic and confiscation of landowners' property; (3) enforcement of the principle of an international union of Social-Democracy; (4) barring of blocs with the Polish Socialist Party and with the Socialist-Revolutionist Party; (5) bringing about union starting with the periphery of the party and creation of illegal Social-Democratic organisations in every locality; (6) unconditional submission of the minority to the majority; (7) discontinuance of the St. Petersburg paper of the

Liquidators (*Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*), as it was receiving financial support chiefly from bourgeois groups and was a disorganising factor in the party; (8) making it compulsory for the Chkheidze group in the Duma to submit to the directions of the Central Committee. Until those conditions had been accepted any agreements with the Liquidators were declared inadmissible. The Conference, the delegates of the Central Committee of the R. S.-D. L. P. and those of the Latvian Social-Democracy not voting, adopted a resolution which denied the existence of such substantial disagreements between the various groups and trends represented as might "justify a continuation of the split" in the party. Without mentioning the many instances of undermining of party work by the Liquidators, the Conference confined itself to the statement that inasmuch as "all groups accept the programme of the party" they recognise, "as a matter of course, the party itself"; and that the organisation of the party at that moment was "necessarily bound to be illegal." The resolution passed in silence over the point of forming blocs with the Socialists-Revolutionists and with the Polish Socialist Party, whose representative was present at the Conference, and confined itself to condemning the policy of forming blocs with the bourgeois parties. Finally, the necessity was indicated of calling a "general" convention for the purpose of passing upon controversial points in the programme, including the question of "cultural national autonomy." Refraining from any criticism of the "past" of the several groups as "sterile" and "harmful," the resolution wound up in a few general statements on the necessity of union. The proceedings of the Brussels Conference did not have any practical significance; the imperialist war which broke out soon after definitely destroyed all illusions regarding the possibility of a union between revolutionary Social-Democrats and Liquidators. —73.

30. Lenin refers to the following articles of Karl Kautsky published in the *Neue Zeit:* "Der Krieg" ("The War"), in No. 19, August 21; "Die Vorbereitung des Friedens" ("The Preparation of Peace"), in No. 20, August 28, in which Kautsky justified the defence of a bourgeois fatherland; "Der Imperialismus" ("Imperialism"), in No. 21, September 11, in which Kautsky set forth the theory of ultra-imperialism; and especially the article, "Die Sozialdemokratie im Kriege" ("The Social-Democracy in the War"), in which Kautsky tried to demonstrate the impossibility of revolutionary struggle in time of war.—73.

31. The reference here is to the resumption of publication of the *Sotsial-Demokrat,* central organ of the R. S.-D. L. P., and to the preparation of No. 33, which was issued on November 1, 1914.—74.

32. Lenin evidently refers here to the statements made by Italian Socialists at the Italo-Swiss Conference of Lugano, on September 27, 1914. A similar characterisation of the position of German Social-Democracy was given in the reply of the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party to the German Social-Democrat Südekum at a special meeting of the Central Committee, in reference to Südekum's visit to Italy for the purpose of inducing that country to join Germany in the war.—79.

33. The Duma group of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, that is, the group of Bolsheviks, numbering at first six members of the Duma, and later, at the outbreak of the war, reduced to five, had broken in 1913 with the Menshevik Social-Democratic group in the Duma (Chkheidze group), and assumed an internationalist position from the beginning of the war. At the Duma session of August 8 the Menshevik Khaustov read a statement in the name of the two Social-Democratic groups, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and then the members of both groups left the session as a protest against the voting of war appropriations. The members of the Bolshevik Social-Democratic group did not confine themselves to this parliamentary protest, as did the Chkheidze group, and started illegal revolutionary action on a large scale among the masses. At a conference held on October 13-14, 1914, the Bolshevik Duma group, together with a group of leading party workers, drafted the reply to Vandervelde's appeal to discontinue for the time of the war the revolutionary struggle against tsarism (see note 24; on the subsequent activities of the Duma group see notes 95 and 96).—79.

34. Lenin refers to the statement made by Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, and Clara Zetkin under date of September 10, 1914, and published in the October 30 issue of the *Berner Tagwacht*, Swiss Social-Democratic paper, and in the October 31 issue of the *Volksrecht*, in which they expressed their disagreement with the official position of the German Social-Democratic Party. He also has in mind the scattered expressions of protest against the official position which appeared in the columns of Social-Democratic papers of the Left Wing. In their declaration, Liebknecht, Mehring and the others protested against the social-chauvinist statements made by Südekum and R. Fischer in the Social-Democratic press of Sweden, Italy, and Switzerland, and said among other things: "We, and undoubtedly also many other German Social-Democrats, view the war, its causes, and its nature, as well as the role of Social-Democracy in present conditions, from a standpoint which differs completely from that of Comrades Südekum and Fischer. Martial law deprives us for the time being of the possibility of publicly advocating our views." Aside from this declaration, the above-named papers published also an unsigned statement of another German Social-Democrat, likewise expressing his disagreement with the official position of the German Party.—79.

35. Opposition to chauvinism in France started first among the Syndicalists. The French General Confederation of Labour assumed, from the very first days of the war, a chauvinist position. On August 4, 1914, *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, official organ of the Syndicalists, published an article, under the title "Against the Right of Brutal Force," which contained an appeal "to defend the democratic and revolutionary traditions of France against the right of brutal force." However, as early as in November, 1914, Pierre Monatte resigned as delegate of the Rhône Federation as a protest against the official position, and issued a separate protest declaration. The opposition was grouped around the Syndicalist magazine, *La Vie Ouvrière*, which included among its contributors Merrheim and Rosmer, Secretary of the Federa-

tion of Metal Workers. On May 1, 1915, Merrheim issued the magazine, *L'Union des Metaux,* in which he endorsed Karl Liebknecht's declaration of December 2, 1914. Bourderon, Secretary of the Federation of Coopers, likewise assumed an internationalist postion. At the initiative of Bourderon and Merrheim a conference of the minority was called on August 15, 1915. Merrheim and Bourderon were the French delegates to the Zimmerwald Conference.—80.

36. The British Socialist Party was formed in 1912 as an outgrowth of the Social-Democratic Federation, founded in 1884 and of which Hyndman was the leader. *Justice,* the weekly central organ of the party, printed on August 13, 1914, a patriotic manifesto, under the title "To All Workers of the United Kingdom." During the war a struggle was going on within the party between the social-chauvinist faction (Hyndman and B. Bax) and the internationalist group (Fairchild and D. Maclean). The British Socialist Party subsequently gave its adherence to the Zimmerwald Manifesto, whereupon the Hyndman group left the party.—85.

37. The Independent Labour Party was founded by Keir Hardie in 1893. Its outstanding leaders were Keir Hardie and MacDonald. The party published a weekly, the *Labour Leader.* The Independent Labour Party remained during the war somewhat unaffected by the general chauvinist current. On August 13, 1914, the *Labour Leader* published a manifesto of the National Council of the party against the war. At the initiative of the party a conference of Socialists of the Entente countries was held in February, 1915. Although the party continued thereafter to issue declarations advocating the struggle for peace and adopted pacifist resolutions at its conference at Norwich, in April, 1915, and although it adhered to the principles proclaimed in the resolutions of the Zimmerwald Conference, it did not carry on any serious anti-war action. As the Labour Party assumed a plainly social-imperialist attitude, a break with it was favoured by some members of the Independent Labour Party; but a resolution advocating a break with the Labour Party was rejected at the conference of the party held in April, 1916.—85.

38. On September 14, 1914, Franz Mehring published in the *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung,* a German Social-Democratic paper of the Left Wing, a protest against the liberties taken by the social-chauvinists with Engels' article, "Sozialismus in Deutschland" (see note 16) and against their attempts at utilising it for the justification of their policy of defence of the bourgeois fatherland. Pannekoek stated his views in a long article, "Der Zusammenbruch der Internationale" ("The Collapse of the International"), published in the *Berner Tagwacht* of October 20, 21, and 22, 1914.—85.

39. Bissolati's group was the extreme Right, reformist group in the Italian Socialist Party. It was expelled from the party in 1912 for its support of the government's colonial policy and for participation in the demonstration held on the occasion of an attempt upon the life of the King of Italy.—85.

40. The Italian Socialist Party was one of the few Socialist parties in Western Europe that did not degenerate into chauvinism. On July 28, 1914, the Central Committee of the party issued an appeal to the workers urging them to struggle against war. On August 2 the Central Committee of the party held a joint session with the General Federation of Labour, the Union of Railwaymen, and the Federation of Seamen, which adopted a resolution recommending to the proletariat of Italy to "be on its guard" and to preserve by all means Italy's "neutrality." In the event that Italy should join in the war, the resolution threatened the ruling classes with "direct action of the working class." In the course of conversations with Südekum, who had come to Italy by order of the German Social-Democratic Party to induce the Italian Socialists to lend support to Germany, the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party declared that the German Socialists had by their conduct violated the decisions of the International in regard to the tactics of Social-Democracy in the event of war. The Italian Socialists took a direct part in the first attempts at the restoration of the international union of the proletariat, which had been destroyed by the war and the betrayal of the big Socialist parties.—85.

41. The German Social-Democrat Haase published an open letter to Marcel Sembat, the Socialist Minister of Public Works in the Government of National Defence in France, in which he pointed at the alliance between French democracy and tsarism and said: "The whole world is waiting for you to find a way out of the present conflict." Instead of by Sembat, the answer was given by Gustave Hervé in the columns of *La Guerre Sociale:* "Yes, we are with the Tsar, but we shall clean the Tsar of tsarism. . . . We have a solution, yes, my brother in St. Karl Marx. First, we shall crush the Prussian army and shall chase it all the way to Berlin ('hygienic work'); second, we shall establish a republic in Germany." The French Socialist Vaillant characterised the Italian Socialists, who had come out for the neutrality of their country in the war, as "moral and political cripples."—86.

42. *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung,* one of the Social-Democratic Left Wing papers in Germany, founded in 1889. Its editor during the war was Hans Donath. From the very first days of the war, the *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* came out against the official position of the German Social-Democratic Party. In No. 196, August 23, 1914, the paper made the statement that "the proletarian International has been destroyed." In No. 214, of September 14, it published Mehring's protest against the chauvinist interpretation given in the Social-Democratic press to Engels' article, "Sozialismus in Deutschland," published in *Neue Zeit* in 1891. In No. 251, of October 27, Karl Liebknecht published his corrections to the report of the *Vorwärts* on the Reichstag session of October 22, 1914, and on the conduct of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag. The *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* was one of the organisation centres of the Bremen group of "Left Wingers," some of whom subsequently joined the German Communist Party.—86.

43. *Volksrecht,* official organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party, of the Social-Democratic organisation of the Zurich canton, and of the labour unions

of Zurich and a number of neighbouring localities. The paper was founded in 1898. During the war it assumed a pacifist position and sometimes published articles and notes of revolutionary Marxists.—86.

44. The reference here is to Martov's article, "The Myth of the Last War," published in *Golos* of October 8, 1914.—88.

45. The reference here is to Martov's "Open Letter" to Gustave Hervé, published in No. 12 of *Golos*, September 25, 1914. Martov's letter concluded with the following words: "The Russian Socialist proletariat does not expect the liberation of Russia either from a victory of Wilhelm II, or from a victory of Nicholas II. They (the Socialist parties of Russia—*Ed.*) hope that their intransigent attitude (as well as that of our comrades, the Socialists of Serbia) will be approved at the future meetings of the International, when it shall have been restored and ridden of the deserters of Socialism."—89.

46. Lenin refers to Marx's letter to Sorge, of September 19, 1879 (*Briefe*, etc., *an Sorge*, pp. 162-166), on the publication of a Social-Democratic party organ in Zurich in view of the enactment of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany in 1878.—90.

47. Quoted from Mehring's article, "Erinnerungen aus dem Kriegsjahre 1870" ("Reminiscences of the War Year 1870"), published in No. 1 of *Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914.—94

48. "The *Vorwärts* Is Dead"—title of an article by Martov in *Golos*, October 9, 1914, written after the *Vorwärts* had pledged itself to General von Kessel, commander of the Brandenburg district, not to touch upon the subject of "class hatred and class struggle" (see note 17).—95.

49. "Millerandism"—Socialist participation in a bourgeois government; was condemned by the International Socialist Congress of Paris, in 1900, after the Socialist Millerand had entered a French bourgeois cabinet (see note 35 to Vol. IV of Lenin's *Collected Works*).—95.

50. The (unsigned) article referred to by Lenin was written by Plekhanov.—96.

51. Pannekoek's article, "Der Zusammenbruch der Internationale," was published in the *Berner Tagwacht* (see note 38).—97.

52. The last session of the International Socialist Bureau was held at Brussels on July 29, 1914, after Austria-Hungary had declared war upon Serbia. Germany was represented by Haase and Rosa Luxemburg; France, by Jaurès, Vaillant, Guesde, Sembat, and Longuet; England, by Keir Hardie; Russia, by Axelrod (Mensheviks), Rubanovich (Socialists-Revolutionists), Winter, and Braun; Austria, by Victor Adler and Nemec; Italy, by Morgari and Balabanova; Belgium, by Vandervelde, Anseele, and Bertrand; Holland, by Troelstra; Switzerland, by Grimm; Poland, by Valecki; there were also delegates from Spain and other countries. The following resolution was

adopted: "The International Socialist Bureau, at its meeting held to-day, July 29, upon listening to the reports of the representatives of all countries that may be involved in a world war on the political situation in those countries, has resolved unanimously that it shall be the duty of the workers of all nations concerned not only to continue, but to further intensify their demonstrations against the war, for peace, and for the settlement of the Austro-Serbian conflict by international arbitration. The German and the French workers shall exert the most energetic pressure upon the governments of their respective countries in order that Germany shall restrain the war ardour of Austria, and that France shall obtain from Russia non-interference in the conflict. The British and Italian workers shall, on their part, support those efforts with all their energy. The extraordinary congress which is being called to meet at Paris will be a vigorous expression of this will for peace of the international proletariat." At the initiative of the Bureau an international mass meeting against the war was organised at Brussels. It was also decided that the next regular International Socialist Congress would be held at Paris, on August 9, 1914, instead of at Vienna, on August 23, as originally scheduled. The Congress did not meet, and the International Socialist Bureau discontinued its activities. Formally it was transferred from Brussels to The Hague. According to the available data, Kautsky did not attend this meeting of the International Socialist Bureau.—98.

53. Lenin refers to Plekhanov's lecture given at Lausanne, on October 11, 1914 (*Golos*, No. 31, October 18, 1914).—98.

54. Quoted from Chernyshevsky's *Prologue to a Prologue*.—100.

55. See on this question Lenin's article "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX.—101.

56. The Congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party was held at Stockholm, in November, 1914. On November 23 Belenin (A. Shlyapnikov) read at the convention a declaration in behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. The declaration contained an appeal for the international struggle of the proletariat against the war and a denunciation of the conduct of the Socialists who assumed a chauvinist attitude, and especially of that of the German Social-Democracy. Following upon Shlyapnikov's declaration, Branting proposed that the convention express its regret over that paragraph of the declaration where the treason of the German Social-Democrats was dwelt upon, as it "does not become the convention to denounce other parties." Höglund, the leader of the revolutionary elements in the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, took issue with Branting and stated that many members of the party viewed the conduct of the German Party precisely in the same manner. The convention, however, adopted Branting's motion. The Left opposition in the Swedish Social-Democratic Party was still acting at this convention in an entirely unorganised manner.—104.

57. The Organisation Committee was virtually the Central Committee of the Mensheviks.—105.

58. Plekhanov's pamphlet, *On the War*, was published in Paris at the end of December, 1914, with the sub-title, "An Answer to Comrade Z. P."—105.

59. The authors of the "Document" published in No. 34 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, that is, of the reply to Vandervelde's telegram, were the St. Petersburg Liquidators grouped around the magazine *Nasha Zarya* (Potresov, Maslov, and others), later changed to *Nashe Dyelo*, published in St. Petersburg in the years 1910-1914 and 1915.—108.

60. Plekhanov's position was criticised by Martov with particular violence in an article entitled "And You Would Better Leave Marx Alone," in No. 35 of *Golos*, October 23, 1914.—108.

61. Of the entire Menshevik wing of Russian Social-Democracy, Martov was the one who in the first months of the war represented the most consistent internationalist position (see his articles, "Peace," in No. 19 of *Golos*, October 3, 1914; "The *Vorwärts* Is Dead," in No. 23, October 9, and a number of others). However, even when he was most violently denouncing the social-chauvinists, Martov did not go beyond the slogan of "struggle for peace," and he was decidedly opposed to a break with the social-chauvinists as far as organisational unity was concerned. After a somewhat hesitating approach to internationalism, Martov formulated his midway position in a lecture which he gave at Berne, on December 16, 1914, on "The War and the Crisis of Socialism," and which Lenin characterised in the discussion that followed as a "sociological introduction to eclectic politics." Inasmuch as Martov's lecture took place after Karl Liebknecht's revolutionary declaration in the Reichstag of December 2, 1914, and after his vote against war appropriations, and after revolutionary Social-Democratic groups had begun to be formed in all parties, this lecture marked under such conditions a new "turn" to the right. A report of Martov's lecture was published in No. 35 of *Sotsial-Demokrat*, December 12, 1915, under the title "Martov Turns Around."—108.

62. The reference here is to Axelrod's article, "Russland und der Krieg" ("Russia and the War"), published in *Berner Tagwacht* of October 26 and 27, 1914 (Nos. 250 and 251).—108.

63. *Hamburger Echo*, a Social-Democratic paper published in Hamburg, was edited during the war by Rense; its outstanding contributors were Haenisch and Lensch, the "mainstays" of the social-chauvinist *Sozialistische Monatshefte*.—109.

64. "Letters of a Petrograd Worker," were the correspondence of A. Shlyapnikov with the Central Committee on the situation in Russia.—109.

65. The *Otkliki*, though announced, never appeared, and No. 2 of the *Izvestia* of the Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee, June 14, 1915, contained a note to the effect that the Organisation Committee regarded the *Nashe Slovo* as the common platform of the Mensheviks-internationalists and had given up the plan of another paper.—109.

66. The reference here is to the note "Von der russischen Sozialdemokratie im Ausland," published in *Berner Tagwacht* of December 12, 1914.—110.

67. When he speaks here of a statement by the editors of the *Golos*, Lenin has in mind the note which appeared in No. 52 of that paper, of November 12, 1914, under the heading "On the Publication of the *Sotsial-Demokrat*," which contained these words: "Would it not be nationalism of the worst kind if we were to resurrect now the former factional strife within the R.S.-D.L.P.. which no longer has any sense?"—110.

68. *Mysl*, a Socialist-Revolutionist paper, began to appear in Paris on November 15, 1914, with the leading participation of Y. Gardenin (V. Chernov), Natanson, Kamkov and others. The paper grouped the internationalist elements in the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, at the same time advocating the preservation of organisational unity with the social-chauvinists. In March, 1915, the paper was suppressed by order of the French Ministry of the Interior. It was replaced by the *Zhizn*. Representatives of the internationalist wing among the Socialists-Revolutionists attended the Zimmerwald Conference. The Zimmerwald Manifesto was signed in their behalf by M. Bobrov (Natanson). The Socialists-Revolutionists did not, however, conduct any consistent revolutionary action against the war.—110.

69. Basok was a prominent leader of the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine, a bourgeois nationalist organisation, which was formed at the beginning of the imperialist war and set as its object the creation of an "independent" Ukraine with the aid of German imperialism. On December 28, 1914, Basok addressed a letter to Lenin from Constantinople, suggesting that a contact between the two organisations, the Bolsheviks and the Union, be established. The letter to Basok is Lenin's reply to that proposition.—111.

70. The Triple Entente, union of the three imperialist powers, England, France, and Russia.—112.

71. Lenin refers here to Engels' letter to Marx of August 15, 1870, in which Engels discusses the nature of the Franco-Prussian War and the position of German Socialism in that war. See *Briefwechsel*, Vol. IV, pp. 318-321.—113.

72. Engels' appeal for a war for the union of Germany in 1859 is contained in his pamphlet *Po und Rhein*.—113.

73. Lenin refers here to the triple issue (Nos. 7-9) of *Nasha Zarya*, leading organ of the Liquidators, which was published in October, 1914, and contained articles by Cherevanin ("Germany Facing an Internal Crisis") and Potresov ("Critical Sketches"). The *Nasha Zarya* was suppressed in 1914, after having been published since 1910, and in 1915 the *Nashe Dyelo* was started in its place.—113.

74. "Axelrod's views" were stated in an interview he gave to R. Grigoryev, contributor to the *Golos*, in Zurich on December 2, 1914, which was published in Nos. 86 and 87 of *Golos*, December 22 and 23.—114.

75. Marx criticised the views of Proudhon, who ignored the national movement in Poland, in the *Sozialdemokrat*, organ of the Lassalleans, in January, 1865 (Nos. 16, 17 and 18).—115.

76. The clause regarding "exceptionally important cases" is contained in the resolution of the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress of 1904 on the question of the entrance of Socialists into a bourgeois cabinet. Participation of Socialist representatives in bourgeois governments had been condemned by a resolution of the Paris International Congress of 1900, where this question was discussed in connection with the case of Millerand, the French Socialist who joined the bourgeois cabinet headed by Waldeck-Rousseau.—117.

77. No. 96 of *Golos* appeared on January 3, 1915. The editorial bears no title.—117.

78. The article, "Under a Stolen Flag," was written by Lenin for a Marxist collective book, which it was proposed to publish legally in Russia in 1915. The book was withheld from publication by the tsarist censorship and did not appear until after the March Revolution of 1917, when it was published, with the emendations made by the censors, by the *Priliv* publishers, as the first issue of a series. The book contained the following articles: A. Mikhailovich (J. M. Sverdlov), "The Split in the German Social-Democracy"; N. Konstantinov (Lenin), "Under a Stolen Flag"; I. Stepanov (Skvortsov), "N. Sukhanov on Our Controversies"; M. Olminsky, "The Plans of the Russian Liberals"; V. Pavlov (V. P. Milyutin), "Along a New Path," and M. Fabrichny (V. P. Nogin), "The War and the Economic Condition of the Working Class."—118.

79. *Nashe Dyelo*, monthly magazine of the Liquidators, began to appear in January, 1915, with A. Potresov, N. Cherevanin, P. Maslov as leading contributors, instead of the *Nasha Zarya*, suppressed in October, 1914. *Nashe Dyelo* was the principal organ of the social-chauvinists in Russia. The St. Petersburg group of adherents of the tendency represented by this publication sent a special declaration to the Copenhagen Conference of the Socialist parties of neutral countries, held in January, 1915.—118.

80. During the period from 1848 to 1876, Marx and Engels had more than once expressed their attitude to the wars of that time: (1) the Crimean War of 1854-1855; (2) the Italo-Austrian War of 1859; (3) the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Of particular importance in this respect are the letters from Marx to Engels of May 18, 1854, August 8, 1870, and August 17, 1870; Engels' letters to Marx of August 15 and September 12, 1870; Marx's letters to Kugelmann of April 12 and 17, 1871 (see *Briefwechsel*, etc., and *Briefe an Kugelmann*.—121.

81. No. 1 of *Nashe Dyelo* contained a translation of the beginning of Kautsky's article, "Internationalität und Krieg," published in the *Neue Zeit* of September 27, 1914 (No. 8).—126.

82. The reference here is to a German pamphlet by Trotsky, published in Zurich in November, 1914, under the title, *Krieg und die Internationale.* (An English translation under the misguiding title, *The Bolsheviki and World Peace,* was published in New York in 1918).—130.

83. The revolutionary elements of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party were grouped around the paper *De Tribune,* started in 1907; the group included H. Gorter, A. Pannekoek, H. Roland-Holst. In October, 1914, Gorter issued a pamphlet, *Imperialism, the World War, and Social-Democracy* (published by the Social-Democratic Party of Holland). A. Pannekoek set forth his position in the *Berner Tagwacht* of October 20, 21, and 22, 1914, in his article, "Der Zusammenbruch der Internationale." Roland-Holst signed the Zimmerwald Manifesto in behalf of the Dutch delegation. Soon after the Zimmerwald Conference the "Tribunists" adhered to the declaration of the Zimmerwald Left Wing.—135.

84. "Obshchodyeltsi" (thus called after the name of their paper, the *Obshcho Dyelo*), were the Bulgarian opportunists, or "Broad Socialists"; the "Tesnyaks," or "Narrow Socialists," formed the revolutionary wing in the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party. During the war, the latter carried on an internationalist policy and combated social-chauvinism in Bulgaria. They took part in the Zimmerwald Conference; later joined the Third International.—135.

85. *Daily Citizen,* organ of the Labour Party, founded in 1912, and discontinued in July, 1915, owing to financial difficulties.—135.

86. *Daily Herald,* a British labour newspaper, founded in 1912. Was financed partly by trade-unions and partly by Socialist organisations. Was discontinued in August, 1914, and the weekly *Herald* was started instead. It is published now as a daily paper.—135.

87. Lenin refers here to the *Berner Tagwacht,* the Swiss Social-Democratic paper edited by Robert Grimm. During the war this paper became a platform for the Left, internationalist elements of the international labour movement. In No. 9, January 13, 1915, the paper printed, in the section "Party News," an excerpt from the *Gothaer Volksblatt.*—137.

88. Julian Borchardt's pamphlet, *Vor und nach dem 4. August,* was written in the first months after the outbreak of the war and was published in January, 1915, in Berlin, by the publishing firm "Lichtstrahlen."—138.

89. Under the pen name V. Ropshin, B. V. Savinkov had written two novels about the life of revolutionists, *The Pale Horse* (1909) and *What Never*

Happened (1912). These novels, written under reactionary-mystical inspiration, were printed in the Liberal *Russkaya Mysl* and in the Socialist-Revolutionist *Zavety* (V. Chernov, editor), respectively. The characters in Ropshin's novels are terrorist intellectuals of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party who repent of their past revolutionary activities, tired persons who are disappointed in revolution and crave the quiet life of plain philistines.—139.

90. *Sovremennik*, a monthly journal of "literature, public life, science, and art," to which Socialist-Revolutionist and Menshevik writers contributed during the war, including Avksentyev, Astrov, Bazarov, Gorky, Dan, Martov, Plekhanov, Rubanovich, Oganovsky, and others. The journal was published in Petrograd.—139.

91. The London Conference was held on February 14, 1915. It had been called at Vandervelde's initiative. However, the invitations to the several organisations were sent out in the name of the English Independent Labour Party. The latter insisted at first upon inviting delegates from Germany and Austria, but the French categorically refused to attend a conference in which those would take part. There were three points on the agenda of the Conference: (1) the rights of nations; (2) colonies; (3) guaranties of future peace. The Conference was attended by Socialists of the Entente countries. England was represented by Keir Hardie, MacDonald and others, of the Independent Labour Party, and by delegates of the British Socialist Party, the Labour Party, and the Fabian Society; France, by Marcel Sembat, Jean Longuet, Vaillant, Compère-Morel, Albert Thomas, delegates of the French Socialist Party, and Jouhaux, of the General Confederation of Labour; Belgium, by Vandervelde and others; the Russian Socialists-Revolutionists, by Chernov, Bobrov (Natanson), and Rubanovich. The delegates of the Menshevik Organisation Committee and of the Polish Socialists (L. Martov and Lapinski) were unable to attend, as passports had been refused to them. A declaration in behalf of the Organisation Committee was submitted to the Conference by Maisky. Maximovich (M. Litvinov), representative of the Bolsheviks, had not been officially invited to the Conference by the International Socialist Bureau. At the Conference Litvinov tried to read a declaration, but he was interrupted by the chairman, who said that the Conference had not been called to indulge in the criticism of various parties. Litvinov then left the Conference. Berzin, delegate of the Latvian Social-Democratic Party, adhered to the declaration of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. Shortly before the Conference, the editors of *Nashe Slovo* (Mensheviks-internationalists) had addressed a letter to Lenin and Axelrod, proposing united action of all internationalist elements of the Russian Social-Democracy at the Conference. Lenin sent in reply the draft of a declaration (the same as was later submitted to the Conference by Litvinov), the adoption of which he regarded as a preliminary condition of joint action (see *Nashe Slovo*, No. 32, March 6, 1915, note entitled "For United Action"). The political purpose of the London Conference was that of securing a decision in favour of the war on the part of the Socialists of the Entente countries, and especially on the part of the English Independent Labour Party. That

purpose was actually achieved, as the war against Germany was declared in the resolutions of the Conference to be a war of "liberation." In spite of the fact that the results of the Conference were plainly to the advantage of the bourgeoisie, the French bourgeois press started a violent attack against the "Socialist" French Ministers, Guesde and Sembat, for having signed a resolution which spoke of the "responsibility of all governments for the war" and recognised the right of nations to self-determination. Speaking in the name of the government, Viviani declared in the Chamber of Deputies, with the silent assent of Guesde and Sembat, that "the responsibility for the war is borne by the enemies of the Triple Entente, and that Alsace-Lorraine must once again belong to France." Guesde and Sembat continued to serve as members of the cabinet.—140.

92. The Conference of the Foreign Sections of the Bolsheviks was held at Berne, from February 27 to March 4, 1915. The sections represented were those of Paris, Zurich, London, Geneva, Berne, Lausanne and Baugy. Among those present were Lenin, Zinoviev, Krupskaya, Inessa Armand, Lilina, Kasparov, Bukharin, Krylenko, Kharitonov, Shklovsky and others. The agenda included reports from local organisations, the war and the objects of the party, the objects of foreign organisations, the central organ and the founding of a new paper, election of a Committee of Foreign Organisations. The Berne Conference was of great historic importance, as it worked out a platform on which all genuinely internationalist elements in the international labour movement could unite.—145.

93. The position of the Bund in regard to the war was stated in the manifesto of its Central Committee, adopted in November, 1914, and published in its *Information Bulletin*, No. 7, January, 1915. The Central Committee of the Bund appealed for a struggle for peace "through organised pressure upon the governments of all belligerent countries." When Lenin speaks of a pro-German attitude he apparently has in mind a lecture given at Berne, in the middle of October, 1914, by Kossovsky, one of the leaders of the Bund, and his article in No. 7 of the *Information Bulletin*, entitled "The Legend of Liberation." A delegate of the Bund attended the Zimmerwald Conference for the purpose of information. Later on, the Bund signed the Zimmerwald Manifesto.—150.

94. *Nashe Slovo*, a daily Social-Democratic paper published in Paris beginning January 29, 1915, taking the place of *Golos*, suppressed by the French authorities. During the first six months of its publication, the paper functioned as the common organ of all Mensheviks-internationalists and of some former Bolsheviks of various shades, whose views were close to those of Trotsky. The Organisation Committee people regarded the *Nashe Slovo* as the organ of the internationalist group known as the "August Bloc." However, as early as June 14, 1915, the Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee (Axelrod, Semkovsky, Martov, Martynov, Astrov) stated in No. 2 of the *Izvestia* of the Foreign Secretariat: "We were naive enough to regard the *Nashe Slovo* as the common organ of Russian internationalists. It was

only because of this that Comrade Martov, who represents our current of thought, joined the editorial board of that paper; . . . it was only for this reason that we dissuaded some of our comrades who had intended to set up the *Otkliki*, a less one-sided organ, from carrying out their plan. We have now, to our regret, to admit that we were mistaken," and so on. After Martov's resignation from the editorial board, the paper came under full control of the Trotsky group, of whose platform the outstanding features were: the rejection of the slogan of the defeat of their own "fatherland" for the Socialists of the several countries, as well as of the slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war, and denial of the requirement of an unconditional break with the social-chauvinists, as far as organisation was concerned. *Nashe Slovo* was suppressed in October, 1916.—150.

95. The trial of the Social-Democratic group of the Duma was held on February 23, 1915, before a special chamber of the Petrograd Court. Besides the Duma "group of five" (G. Petrovsky, A. Badayev, M. Muranov, F. Samoilov, N. Shagov), the defendants included L. B. Kamenev and others. The charge was under Article 102 of the Penal Code (membership in an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the existing political order). The main evidence against the Duma members were Lenin's theses on the war. All five Deputies and Kamenev were sentenced to exile to Siberia for life.—151.

96. The Conference of Bolsheviks was held on November 17, 1914, at Ozerki, a suburb of Petrograd. In addition to the Duma "group of five," it was attended by the following delegates: F. V. Linde, of Riga; K. Yakovlev, of Kharkov; I. Voronov, of Ivanovo-Voznesensk; I. Kozlov and N. Antipov, of Petrograd; and Kamenev, as representative of the Central Committee. The principal point on the agenda of the Conference was the attitude toward the war and the objectives of Social-Democracy. All participants of the Conference were arrested and brought to trial.—151.

97. More details can be found in *Essays on the History of the October Revolution* (in Russian), Moscow, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 358-360.—151.

98. *Dyen*, a radical paper, which included among its contributors Cadets of the Left Wing, Liquidators, and some adherents of the *Vperyod* group. Founded in 1913.—151.

99. *Ryech*, central organ of the Cadet Party, published in Petrograd from 1906 to 1917. Editors, J. Hessen and P. Milyukov. The reference in this instance is to an editorial in No. 42 of the paper, February 26, 1915, which discussed the decisions of the Copenhagen and London Socialist Conferences and the trial of the Bolshevik Duma group.—152.

100. *Severnaya Rabochaya Gazeta*, organ of the Liquidators, published in St. Petersburg from February 12 to July 13, 1914.

101. *Le Temps,* leading organ of the big industrial and financial bourgeoisie in France, printed an editorial on the London Conference, which said: "Yes, the German Social-Democracy at a Socialist Congress in London! That indeed is a scandalous forgetfulness of the grief of thousands of workers and of the murderous conduct of their German brethren." *Le Temps* devoted two articles to the London Conference: "Rien de trop," on February 15, 1915, and "Invisible et présent," on February 16.—157.

102. *L'Echo de Paris* grew indignant over the conduct of Guesde and Sembat at the London Conference, on which it had this to say: "At the same time that the Germans overrun French territory our Ministers proclaim their faith in international arbitration and manifest their desire to protect Germany from downfall!"—157.

103. Lenin refers here to an article, "La conférence socialiste de Londres," published in the February 19, 1915, issue of the *Journal des Débats.*—157.

104. The reference here is to Kossovsky's article, "The Legend of Liberation," in the *Information Bulletin* of the Foreign Organisation of the Bund, No. 7, January, 1915. The *Information Bulletin* was published in Geneva.—158.

105. The *Izvestia* of the Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee began to appear on February 22, 1915, in Zurich. This publication was in the nature of a "bulletin," which appeared at long intervals. Publication of the *Izvestia* continued until February 16, 1917, and it was discontinued with the issue No. 9. The discord within the "August Bloc" was bound to be reflected in the *Izvestia* as well. The first issue of the *Izvestia* contained: the "Report of the Organisation Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party to the Copenhagen Conference of the Socialists of Neutral Countries," dated January 12, 1915; the "Answer of the Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee to the International Socialist Bureau," signed by Axelrod and Semkovsky: and the statement to the Copenhagen Conference made by the group of adherents of the *Nashe Dyelo.*—158.

106. Shortly before the London Conference (February 14, 1915) the editors of *Nashe Slovo* sent a letter to Axelrod and Lenin, as representatives of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in the International Socialist Bureau, suggesting "co-ordinated action by the internationalist elements in the R.S.-D.L.P." at the London Conference (see note 91). Axelrod gave his consent in principle. Lenin replied by sending the draft of a declaration (the same as was later submitted by Litvinov to the Conference), and at the same time attacked the social-chauvinism of the Organisation Committee and of the Bund. The contributors to the *Nashe Slovo,* meeting on February 13, 1915, passed an "elastic" resolution on the attitude toward the London Conference, shielding the social-chauvinism of the Organisational Committee and of the Bund. Such a political course naturally precluded the possibility of any joint action of the *Nashe Slovo* and the Bolsheviks.—158.

107. The editorial of the *Nashe Slovo* of March 6, 1915, entitled "The Materials of the London Conference. Toward Unity of Action," discussed preliminary steps for the union of internationalists in connection with the London Conference.—158.

108. "Declaration of *Nashe Slovo*," a statement of the position of the group of adherents of that paper in regard to the London Conference, was published in No. 26 of *Nashe Slovo*, February 27, 1915.—158.

109. Lenin has in mind the digest of soldiers' letters from the front quoted in various English papers, which was published in the *Labour Leader* of January 7, 1915, under the heading, "The Government Refuses a Christmas Truce, but the Soldiers Take It!"—160.

110. Expression used by Kautsky in his article, "Die Sozialdemokratie im Krieg," in No. 1 of *Neue Zeit*, October 2, 1914.—160.

111. The Fabian Society, a liberal organisation, founded in 1884, which set itself the purpose of drawing the English workers away from the ideas of revolutionary Socialism by means of propaganda of "Municipal Socialism" and partial reforms, which are alleged to be transforming capitalist society into a Socialist one. According to Engels' expression, the Fabians endeavoured to "permeate liberalism with Socialism." The organ of the Fabians is *The New Statesman*, and their ideological leaders are Sidney and Beatrice Webb.—162.

112. There are two Russian editions of the correspondence between Marx and Engels and Sorge, one published in 1907 (Dauge edition), and the other in 1908 (published in the series "Obshchestvennaya Polza"). The translation of the Dauge edition was edited by Lenin and had a preface by him. The 1908 edition was edited and prefaced by Axelrod. (The German edition of this correspondence was published under the title: *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906.) The characterisation of the Fabian Society is contained in Engels' letters to Sorge of January 18, March 18, and November 11, 1893.—162.

113. *Clarion*, a publication of the Fabian Society.—165.

114. The book, *What Russia Expects of the War*, a collective work of Cadet authors, appeared in 1915, in Petrograd. It contained articles by Milyukov ("Russia's Territorial Acquisitions"), Shingarev ("The Russia of Zemstvos and Municipalities"), Tugan-Baranovsky ("The War and National Economy"), and others.—168.

115. The reference here is to the editorial note to Kautsky's article "Internationalität und Krieg," the last part of which appeared in No. 2 of *Nashe Dyelo*.—170.

116. Lenin refers to the editorial note in No. 2 of *Nashe Dyelo* to the report of Plekhanov's lecture given in Lausanne in October, 1914, and published in the *Golos*, and of Axelrod's interview, which appeared in the *Golos*, Nos. 86 and 87. The editors of *Nashe Dyelo* state that Plekhanov's views "coincide in many respects with the views of the editors of our journal."—170.

117. The reference here is to Semkovsky's article, "Disintegration of Russia," in No. 45 of *Nashe Slovo*, of March 21, 1915, and to his article, "Dangerous Deviations," in No. 2 of the *Izvestia* of the Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee, June 14, 1915.—170.

118. Kautsky's pamphlet, *Die Internationalität und der Krieg*, was a reprint of his article in No. 8 of *Neue Zeit*, November 27, 1914; it was published by *Vorwärts*, Berlin, 1915. A Russian translation of Kautsky's pamphlet was printed in Nos. 1 and 2 of *Nashe Dyelo*. No. 1 of *Nashe Dyelo* also had an article by Potresov, "On the Borderline between Two Epochs," which Lenin mentions.—171.

119. The reference is to Kautsky's article, "Krieg und Frieden" ("War and Peace"), with the sub-title, "Betrachtungen zur Mai-Feier" ("Observations Regarding May Day"), in No. 30 of *Neue Zeit*, April 28, 1911.—172.

120. H. Gorter's pamphlet, *Imperialism, the World War and Social-Democracy*, appeared in Amsterdam in the beginning of 1915.—174.

121. Lenin refers to the editorial entitled "Where Is the Majority?" in No. 42 of *Nashe Slovo*, of March 18, 1915, which dealt with Plekhanov's interview published in the Italian social-reformist paper *Lavoro*.—176.

122. Journal *X Y Z* is the *Nashe Dyelo*.—177.

123. Late in March, 1915, Yonov (Koigen) read a report at Nervi, at a meeting of the local group of Russian Social-Democrats, on "Organisation Methods of the Restoration of the International." The resolution adopted by the meeting opposed "a break in the organisation and an exclusive union of internationalists."—177.

124. *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*, a monthly journal for workers, organ of revolutionary Social-Democracy, published during the war in Petrograd.—179.

125. *Strakhovaniye Rabochikh*, monthly journal of the Liquidators, published in Petrograd during the war.—179.

126. *Severny Golos* (*Northern Voice*), weekly Menshevik paper, issued in Petrograd from February 13 to March 15, 1915.—179.

127. Lenin refers to the article, "Financial Arrangements and the War Debts of Europe."—180.

128. The reference is to the article, "The Objects of the War."—180.

129. No. 85 of *Nashe Slovo* came out on May 9, 1915. The "two members of the editorial board" who expressed a dissenting opinion were Manuilsky and Antonov-Ovseyenko (see note 136).—182.

130. "Guizot, nothing less than that"—Turgenev's expression in *Virgin Soil*.—182.

131. *Lichtstrahlen*, a monthly magazine, founded (in 1913) and edited by Julian Borchardt, organ of a group of Social-Democrats of the Left (International Socialists of Germany). Only a few issues appeared during the war. No. 1 was published in October, 1914. Among the contributors to the magazine were A. Pannekoek, K. Radek, and others. It was published in Berlin.—183.

132. In the beginning of February, 1915, Rosa Luxemburg, together with Franz Mehring, started the publication of a monthly, *Die Internationale*, devoted to "the theory and practice of Marxism." The first and only issue appeared in April, 1915, and was reissued in Munich, in 1922, by "Futurus" publishers. *Die Internationale* contained articles by Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, and others.—183.

133. The Berne International Socialist Women's Conference was held on March 26-28, 1915. The Conference had been called at the initiative of the foreign representatives of women's organisations adhering to the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. (Bolsheviks). The question of calling such a conference had been raised by those organisations in November, 1914. That initiative was supported by Clara Zetkin, Secretary of the International Bureau of Socialist Women, who in December issued an appeal to the Socialist women of all countries, urging them to "struggle for peace." The delegates to the Conference numbered twenty-five, including four from England, seven from Germany, one from France, three from Holland, two from Switzerland, one from Italy, six from Russia (two from the Organisation Committee and four from the Central Committee), and one from Poland. The question on the agenda was that of "international action of Socialist women for peace." A pacifist resolution was drafted by Clara Zetkin, with the aid of the English and Dutch delegates. The delegates of the Russian Central Committee introduced a resolution of their own, in which the position of the majorities of the Social-Democratic parties was sharply criticised, and which proclaimed the slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. This resolution was rejected by a majority of the delegates against the delegates of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. and the Polish delegation. (See Appendices: Documents, III.) The Conference passed a resolution of protest against the conviction of the five Duma members and against the imprisonment of Rosa Luxemburg. The pacifist majority also adopted a resolution of greetings to bourgeois pacifists. Notwithstanding the fact that the Conference could not, because of its personnel, map out the course of general revolutionary action

of Socialists against the war, it was of great significance as a first genuinely international gathering since the outbreak of the war.—192.

134. The reference is to Trotsky's open letter to the editors of the *Kommunist*, published in No. 105 of *Nashe Slovo*, June 4, 1915, and stating the motives which caused Trotsky to decline the offer to contribute to the *Kommunist*. In that letter Trotsky took up the defence of the Chkheidze group and of its chauvinist position.—197.

135. G. Alexinsky's letter, which appeared in No. 143 of the Cadet newspaper *Ryech*, June 9, 1915, was written in reference to the "false" interpretation given by the reactionary papers *Novoye Vremya* and *Moskovskiye Vyedomosti* to an article of his in No. 3 of the *Sovremenny Mir*.—204.

136. Following upon a meeting of the editorial board and of the Paris contributors to *Nashe Slovo* of May 9, 1915, where two members of the editorial board, Manuilsky and Antonov-Ovseyenko, made a declaration stating their "dissenting opinion in regard to the organisational methods of intra-party policies in Russia," and after the *Nashe Slovo*, in No. 89, May 15, 1915, had printed an article entitled "Our Position," stating the platform of that paper, the Paris section of the Bolsheviks greeted the two members of the editorial board named above as "consistent Internationalists." The editors of *Nashe Slovo* published this resolution of greetings in No. 122 of the paper, June 24, 1915, and referred at the same time to the article, "Our Position," as expressing officially their attitude toward the position assumed by the *Sotsial-Demokrat*.—205.

137. Under the influence of the growing revolutionary spirit of the working class, Kautsky, Haase and Bernstein issued a manifesto in June, 1915, "Against Annexations," which contained at the same time an appeal for the unity of the party.—206.

138. *L'Humanité*, central organ ot the French Socialist Party, now the central organ of the Communist Party of France.—206.

139. The collective book entitled *War* was issued toward the end of June, 1915, in Paris, and contained articles by Plekhanov ("More on the War"), Alexinsky ("With Whom Is the Majority?"), and also contributions by Deutsch, and others. Speaking of the Duma fraction, Alexinsky stated in his article that "the five Duma members publicly renounced before the court that preaching" (the preaching of defeatism), while Plekhanov declared that "through the medium of one of their counsel they (the Duma members.—*Ed.*) described as *defamatory* the charge made against them that they take the same attitude toward the present war as the Geneva *Sotsial-Demokrat*."—207.

140. The *Vorkonferenz* met at Berne in the middle of July, 1915. It discussed the organisation problems in reference to the preparation of the

international (Zimmerwald) Socialist Conference. Besides representatives of the Italian Socialist Party and Swiss Social-Democrats, the Preliminary Conference was attended by representatives of the Organisation Committee (Axelrod) and of the Central Committee (Zinoviev). The Italian Socialist Morgari reported to the Conference the results of his call upon the members of the International Socialist Bureau, the calling of which had been insistently demanded by the Italo-Swiss Conference of Lugano. The leaders of the International Socialist Bureau had categorically refused to call a meeting of the Bureau. The chief problem discussed at the Preliminary Conference was that relating to the personnel of the Conference to be called. Inasmuch as the official initiative of an international conference belonged to the Italian and Swiss Socialists, whose position was by no means one of consistent internationalism, the majority of the meeting (against the representative of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P.) declared for extending the invitation "to those parties, or fractions of parties, or labour organisations in general, which have remained true to the principle of class struggle and international solidarity, refuse to vote for war appropriations, and so on." In fact, the organisers of the Conference endeavoured to make it as broadly inclusive as possible, so as to induce Kautsky and his followers to join. It should be borne in mind that the Preliminary Conference took place shortly after the issuance of the Kautsky-Haase-Bernstein manifesto "against annexations." The representative of the Bolshevik Central Committee advocated inviting to the conference the genuinely internationalist elements only, which had already by that time, in most countries, separated from the official Social-Democratic parties. The majority of the Preliminary Conference rejected this proposition.—208.

141. The reference here is to the Zimmerwald Conference.—208.

142. The reference is to a pamphlet by Charles Dumas and C. Rakovsky, entitled *Les socialistes et la guerre* (*The Socialists and the War*), issued in Bucharest in 1915.—209.

143. The pamphlet, *Socialism and War*, was written by Lenin, in collaboration with Zinoviev, in August, 1915. The pamphlet had been designed for the Zimmerwald Conference, but owing to technical causes its appearance was delayed, and it was published when the Zimmerwald Conference was over. After the Bolshevik Revolution the pamphlet was reissued in 1918, in Petrograd, and again, in 1924, on the tenth anniversary of the imperialist war, by the *Krasnaya Nov* (*Red Virgin Soil*), with a preface by Zinoviev, in which he stated that Chapter I and some portions of Chapters III and IV had been written by Lenin, who had also taken charge of the general editing of the pamphlet.—219.

144. Lenin refers to Wilhelm Liebknecht's address at the Erfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in 1891, the text of which (in German) may be found in the published proceedings of that Congress, pp. 206, 207.—220.

145. Quoted from Vol. I of Clausewitz's work, *Vom Krieg* (*On War*), published in the thirties of the nineteenth century.—224.

146. Paul Golay's pamphlet, *Le socialisme qui meurt et le socialisme que doit renaître*, appeared in Lausanne in 1915.—231.

147. The first issue of *Proletarsky Golos* appeared in February, 1915.—240.

148. The reference is to Victor Adler's article, "Hoffnungsschimmer," in No. 45 of the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, February 14, 1915.—244.

149. Lenin refers to W. Heine's article in No. 13 of *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, July 8, 1915.—245.

150. The Vienna Conference of the Socialists of Germany and of Austria, which was, in a way, a retort to the London Conference of Socialists of Entente countries, was held in April, 1915. The Conference approved the policy of the defence of the fatherland.—245.

151. The Copenhagen Conference of the Socialists of neutral countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland) was held on January 17-18, 1915. It resolved that an appeal should be made, through the several Socialist parties, to the governments of the neutral countries to offer their mediation for the ending of the war.—245.

152. The International Conference of Socialist Youth, called at the initiative of the Italian and the German youth, was held at Berne, on April 5-6, 1915. The Conference was attended by delegates from Norway, Holland, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Russia. It elected an International Bureau of Socialist Youth, which started, in accordance with the decisions of the Conference, the publication of a journal, *Die Jugendinternationale* (*The Youth International*), of which eleven issues appeared. The contributors to the journal included Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Zinoviev, and others.—245.

153. The leaflet, "Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land," was written by Karl Liebknecht after Italy had entered the war and was issued in May, 1915; it was reprinted in the pamphlet, *Unterirdische Literatur im revolutionären Deutschland während des Weltkrieges* (*Underground Literature in Revolutionary Germany During the World War*), by Ernst Drahn and Suzanne Leonhard, Berlin, 1920, pp. 24 *ff*.—246.

154. *Preussische Jahrbücher*, a conservative monthly, organ of big capitalists and landowners in pre-war Germany. Monitor's article, "Die Sozialdemokratie und der Weltkrieg" ("Social-Democracy and the World War"), appeared in April, 1915. The editors remarked in reference to this article: "We are facing a radical transformation in the character of our political parties."—249.

155. The collective book, *Marxism and Liquidationism*, was published by "Priboi" in St. Petersburg, in 1914, with this subtitle: "Collection of Articles on the Fundamental Problems of the Labour Movement of Our Days." The book had been planned in two parts, and only the second appeared. It included articles by Lenin (V. Ilyin), Zinoviev, and Kamenev, which had been written at the time of the struggle against the Liquidators (1909-1914). The book was reissued in Leningrad, by "Priboi," in 1924.—254.

156. *Internazionale Korrespondenz*, a weekly of the labour movement and of international politics, was founded in 1914. It became a centre around which the German social-chauvinists were grouped—Legien, Heine, Haenisch, and others.—257.

157. Chkhenkeli's article, "Five Weeks in Berlin," appeared in No. 5 of *Sovremenny Mir*.—257.

158. Lenin refers to Trotsky's open letter to the editors of the *Kommunist*, printed in No. 105 of *Nashe Slovo*, June 4, 1915, in which he said: "I am proud of the conduct of our Duma members (the Chkheidze group); I regard them as the most important agency of internationalist education of the proletariat of Russia, and for that very reason I deem it the task of every revolutionary Social-Democrat to extend to them every support and to raise their authority in the International."—257.

159. Quarck's statement was quoted in the Vienna *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, June 27, 1915, under the heading "Keine internationale Friedenspropaganda" ("No International Peace Propaganda").—261.

160. "Friedenssehnsucht" ("Craving for Peace") was the title of an article in No. 73 of *Berner Tagwacht*, March 29, 1915.—264.

161. The reference here is to Pannekoek's articles entitled "Sozialistische Friedensbedingungen" ("Socialist Peace Terms"), in Nos. 73 and 75 of *Berner Tagwacht*, March 29 and 31, 1915.—264.

162. Number 8 of the *Information Bulletin* of the Foreign Organisation of the Bund was issued in May, 1915. When speaking of Kossovsky here, Lenin has in mind his article "How Can the International Be Restored?"—273.

163. The Chemnitz Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party was held on September 15-21, 1912. The resolution relative to imperialism and to the attitude of Socialists toward war was passed by a majority of all votes against three, with two abstaining. The editors of the *Kommunist*, while reproducing that resolution, accompanied it with a note to the effect that they "do not by any means endorse all statements contained in the resolution (as, for instance, that relating to disarmament)" and "publish the resolution merely as a document."—274.

164. Charles Dumas' pamphlet, *La paix que nous voulons* (*The Peace We Want*), appeared in Paris, in 1915.—275.

165. Delaisi's pamphlet, *La guerre qui vient* (*The Coming War*), was published in Paris, by Gustave Hervé's *La guerre sociale*, in 1911.—277.

166. "Axelrod's Interviews" are his two talks with a contributor of *Nashe Slovo* "On Our Differences," printed in Nos. 87 and 90 of that paper, May 12 and 16, 1915; in these talks Axelrod took exception to "Lenin's fanatical zeal for splits."—277.

167. H. Cunow's pamphlet, *Parteizusammenbruch*, with the sub-title *Ein offenes Wort zum inneren Parteistreit* (*A Frank Statement on the Internal Party Conflict*), was published in Berlin by the *Vorwärts*, 1915.—278.

168. Lensch's pamphlet, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Weltkrieg* was published in Berlin by the *Vorwärts*, 1915.—280.

169. *The War of Steel and Gold*, by H. N. Brailsford, member of the English Independent Labour Party, was published in London, 1914.—283.

170. *Zhizn* [*Life*], paper published by the internationalist wing of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party beginning with March 21, 1915, in place of the *Mysl*, suppressed on March 3. The reference is to an article by Y. Gardenin (V. Chernov) in the issue of March 31, 1915, entitled "Bayonet-Socialists." —286.

171. The reference is to a series of articles by Kautsky under the general title *Zwei Schriften zum Umlernen*, which appeared in four issues of the *Neue Zeit* (April 9, 16, 23, and 30, 1915); in those articles Kautsky criticised Cunow's *Parteizusammenbruch* and Lensch's *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und der Weltkrieg*.—288.

172. Kautsky's pamphlet *Nationalstaat, imperialistischer Staat und Staatenbund* was published in Nuremberg, in 1915.—289.

173. Quoted from Goethe.—295.

174. The reference is to Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christentums*.—296.

175. Rosa Luxemburg applied to Kautsky the epithet "Mädchen für alle" in her article "Die Wiederherstellung der Internationale" ("The Restoration of the International"), in No. 1 of the Die *Internationale*.—297.

176. The reference is to Kautsky's article, "Nochmals unsere Illusionen" ("Our Illusions Once More"), in Nos. 8 and 9 of *Neue Zeit*, May 21 and 28, 1915.—297.

177. *Le socialisme*, theoretical weekly journal of the French Orthodox Marxists, or "Guesdeists." Founded in 1907 by Jules Guesde. In January, 1914, the journal fused with the one published by the Belgian Socialist Party and appeared afterwards under the title *Socialisme et lutte des classes* (*Socialism and Class Struggle*).—302.

178. C. P. Lucas's book *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* was published in Oxford, 1912.—306.

179. Erwin Belger's pamphlet *Die Sozialdemokratie nach dem Kriege* was published in Berlin, 1915.—306.

180. Sartorius von Waltershausen's book *Das volkswirtschaftliche System der Kapitalanlagen im Auslande* (*The Economic System of Foreign Capital Investments*) was published in Berlin, 1907.—306.

181. Ruedorffer's book *Grundzüge der Weltpolitik in der Gegenwart* (*Principles of Modern World Politics*) was published in 1913.—307.

182. Lenin refers to Höglund's speech at the Congress of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party on November 23, 1914.—309.

183. The reference is to Karl Liebknecht's article entitled "Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land."—311.

184. Karl Legien's pamphlet was published by the central organisation of the Berlin trade unions.—314.

185. The reference is to Arturo Labriola's *La guerra di Tripoli et l'opinione socialista* (*The Tripolitan War and Socialist Opinion*), published in Naples in 1912.—332.

186. The Zimmerwald Conference was attended by delegates from France (the opposition in the labour union movement: Merrheim, Secretary of the Metal Workers' Union, and Bourderon, Secretary of the Union of Coopers); from Germany (ten delegates: Ledebour, Hoffmann, Borchardt, Meyer, Thalheimer, and others; the delegation included five or six members of the moderate Ledebour group, who had abstained from voting on the war appropriations in the Reichstag; two or three persons who were close to Liebknecht's position, but were still unwilling to break with the "old and tried Social-Democratic tactics"; one representative of the Liebknecht-Luxemburg group; Karl Liebknecht had then been drafted, and Rosa Luxemburg was in prison); from Italy (four delegates: the official representatives of the Central committee of the Party and of the Socialist group in Parliament, Modigliani, Serrati, Lazzari, Morgari); from the Balkan Federation (Kolarov and Rakovsky); from Sweden (Höglund, leader of the "Youth," a powerful opposition group in the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, controlling three daily papers and represented in the Riksdag [Parliament] by thirteen members); from

Norway (Nerman, representative of the Young Socialists' organisation); from Holland (Roland-Holst); from Poland (Lapinski, Warski, Hanecki, Radek); from the Swiss Social-Democratic Party (Robert Grimm, C. Naine, and others); from the Russian Social-Democratic Party (the Bolshevik Central Committee, Lenin and Zinoviev; the Menshevik Organisation Committee, Axelrod, Martov; the *Nashe Slovo* group, Trotsky); from the Socialist-Revolutionist internationalist group (Chernov, representing the paper *Mysl*, and Natanson, representing the Central Committee). Before the Conference met, Lenin had sent the draft of his declaration to the "Swedes" and the "Norwegians," who gave their adherence to it. At the Conference a heated struggle broke out between the staunch group of genuine internationalists, headed by Lenin, and the majority of delegates, whose position was almost that of Kautsky. The fundamental discussion of principles started in connection with the Manifesto to be issued by the Conference. The Left group of delegates (who became known as the "Zimmerwald Left") submitted the draft of a Manifesto and the draft of a resolution on the World War and the tasks of Social-Democracy. (See Appendices: Documents, VI and VII.) The majority declined the propositions of the Left and adopted the text of a Manifesto in which the conduct of the Social-Democratic parties during the war was passed in silence and the revolutionary tasks of the working class were toned down. (See Appendices: Documents, IV.) The Manifesto was subsequently endorsed by the English Independent Labour Party and by the British Socialist Party. Besides the Manifesto there was issued a joint statement by the German and the French delegations, and there was adopted a resolution of "sympathy with the war victims and the persecuted." (See Appendices: Documents, V.) The Conference appointed an International Socialist Commission, consisting of Morgari, Naine, Grimm and Balabanova. The International Socialist Commission published its *Bulletin*. The "Zimmerwald Left" appointed a Bureau of their own, which in November, 1915, published in Zurich the *Internationale Flugblätter*, containing the resolution and the Manifesto proposed by the Left at Zimmerwald. In 1916 the Left issued two numbers of the journal *Vorbote*. The Zimmerwald Left formed the basic nucleus of the Communist International founded in 1919.—340.

187. The July Conference was held in July, 1915, by the various Narodnik groups, Socialists-Revolutionists, People's Socialists, and Trudoviks, at Petrograd. The Conference went on record in favour of active participation in the defence of the fatherland. The resolutions of the Conference on the war were published in No. 1 of the Paris *Prizyv* (common organ of Social-Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionists, Avksentyev, Alexinsky, Plekhanov), October 1, 1915.—344.

188. The reference is apparently to Plekhanov's article "About Demonstrations," in No. 14 of *Iskra*, January 1, 1902.—347.

189. *En Garde*, a collection of Jules Guesde's articles written during the period from 1880 to 1910 and printed originally in various Socialist publications. The book was published in Paris, 1911. The articles were devoted to

acutely controversial problems of the Socialist movement, such as the attitude toward Anarchism, parliamentarism, and the participation of Socialists in bourgeois governments. The passage quoted in the text is taken from Guesde's address at the Congress of the French Socialist Party of 1899.—348.

190. Axelrod's pamphlet was published in Zurich, August, 1915.—350.

191. Number 3 of *Prizyv*, October 17, 1915, printed an article of Plekhanov entitled "The Two Courses of Revolution."—359.

192. *Die Glocke*, a Socialist fortnightly, published in Berlin by Parvus, was a chauvinist journal founded in August, 1915. The principal contributors were Haenisch and Lensch.—364.

193. Lenin refers here to the article by Karl Radek (Parabellum) "Annexionen und Sozialdemokratie" ("Annexations and Social-Democracy") in Nos. 252 and 253 of *Berner Tagwacht*, October 28 and 29, 1915.—367.

194. The reference is to Kautsky's article, "Nochmals unsere Illusionen." —371.

195. The reference is to Kautsky's article, "Zwei Schriften zum Umlernen." —371.

196. In the middle of November, 1915, Lenin received a leaflet of the Socialist Propaganda League in the United States, whose contents showed the internationalist trend of the League. Lenin sent a long letter in reply and attached the *Internationale Flugblätter* of the Zimmerwald Left and his pamphlet *Socialism and War*. The text given here is only part of the letter written by Lenin; the first part of the letter has not been preserved.—374.

197. The American Socialist Party, far from being a revolutionary Marxist party, was permeated by reformism even before the World War and the Russian Revolution. It was founded in 1901 as a result of the union of two groups which had separated, respectively, from the Socialist Labour Party (Hillquit) and the Social-Democratic Party, founded in 1898 by Victor Berger and Eugene V. Debs. As the party rapidly grew in numbers, reaching a membership of over 100,000, there grew within it a strong opportunist wing, which in 1912 succeeded, at the Indianapolis Convention, in inserting a clause in the party platform (Section 2, Article VI) which rejected all use of force, sabotage, etc. Under this section William D. Haywood was removed from the National Executive Committee and expelled from the party. Its opposition to the war, the ratification of the Zimmerwald Manifesto, and its various anti-war proclamations during this period were essentially pacifist rather than revolutionary in nature. The party, however, had large numbers of revolutionary proletarian elements, and, influenced by the March Revolution and the crystallisation of the revolutionary internationalist groups in Europe, it adopted a militant anti-war manifesto at its convention in St. Louis, April, 1917, im-

mediately after America's entrance into the war. The call to revolutionary action embodied in this manifesto, however, was soon emasculated by the party leadership, and the October Revolution stimulated the formation of Left groups within the party. The final crystallisation of an organised Left Wing led to a split and the formation of the Communist Party in 1919. Since then, with the loss of its proletarian base and mass contact, the Socialist Party has developed into a petty-bourgeois reformist party, eliminating the principle of class struggle from its platform and actually becoming the third party of American capitalism.—375.

198. The Socialist Labour Party was formed in the seventies as a result of the fusion of various Socialist groups which were in existence in the United States at that time. From its formation, the party kept aloof from the mass labour movement and had the character of a sect. (See next note.) In January, 1916, a joint conference of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labour Party was held to discuss the possibility of unity of the two parties, but the conference was unable to reach an agreement, and the question of unity was dropped.—375.

199. Of particular importance are Engels' letters to Sorge, April 29, 1886, and November 29, 1886; to Mrs. Vishnevetsky, December 28, 1886, and February 9, 1887; to Sorge, December 7, 1889; to Schlueter, January 11, 1890. (See *Briefe*, etc., *an Sorge*).—375.

200. At the Congress of the American Socialist Party in 1910 the majority of the Committee on Immigration brought in a reactionary resolution opposing free immigration to the United States, particularly favouring the complete stoppage of Asiatic immigration. The Committee claimed that the Stuttgart resolution for free immigration needed modification on this point. Desirous to avoid the issue the Congress decided to continue to study the question until the next Congress. At the 1912 Convention of the party, a compromise resolution was adopted, opposing the entrance of immigrants who have contracted for their labour prior to their departure for America. The members from the Western states, particularly the Pacific coast, were especially active in the campaign to have the Socialist Party oppose free immigration from China, Japan, and India.—375.

201. The elections to the War Industries Committees were held at Petrograd at the end of September, 1915. The campaign for workers' participation in the Committee was an attempt of the bourgeoisie to enlist the workers in the "defence of the fatherland." At a meeting of electors representing over 200,000 workers, 95 electors opposed participation in the elections and adhered to the declaration of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks, 85 adopted the platform of the Defensists and voted for participation in the elections. At the second ballot, the Bolsheviks received 91 votes and the Menshevik-Defensists, 81. The Petrograd Committee from the start had assumed a firm internationalist position; it had called upon the workers to use the elections for the appointment of electors for purposes of propaganda and it strenu-

ously opposed participation in the War Industries Committees. The social-chauvinists in Russia, with their official publications, the paper *Rabocheye Utro*, and the magazine *Nashe Dyelo*, advocated participation. The Menshevik Organisation Committee refrained altogether from officially stating their position. After the defeat of the social-chauvinists, the Menshevik Gvozdev, who was the inspirer of the entire campaign, appealed the results of the vote, and in November he organised second elections by agreement with Guchkov and with the aid of the secret police. At a new meeting of the electors, after the internationalists had left, he succeeded in passing the resolution in favour of participation in the War Industries Committees.—377.

202. The paper *Rabocheye Utro* appeared from September, 1915, to the end of that year. Lenin refers here to the article "Two Positions," by K. Oransky, in the issue of October 22, 1915.—378.

203. *The International and War*, publication of the Organisation Committee, first issue, published by the Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee, contained articles by A. Martynov, Astrov, Y. Larin, Spectator, Yonov, L. Martov, P. Axelrod, and others.—378.

204. The reference is to the article "*Prizyv*, a Patriotic Organisation," signed A. M., in the collective book *The International and War*.—381.

205. The Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee consisted of Martov, Axelrod, Semkovsky, Martynov, and Astrov.—381.

206. The reference is to Kautsky's article "Fraktion und Partei" ("Fraction and Party"), in No. 9 of *Neue Zeit*, November 26, 1915.—392.

207. Lenin's preface to Bukharin's book was written in December, 1915, and was at once sent to Russia. The printing of the book, however, could only be done after the March, 1917, Revolution. In the July Days of 1917 the *Pravda* printing plant was destroyed, and the manuscript of the book was lost. Lenin's preface is reprinted in this volume from a copy which he had written and kept abroad when sending the manuscript to Russia.—399.

208. Kautsky's "special work" is his *Der Weg zur Macht*.—401.

209. The quotation is from Kautsky's article "Zwei Schriften zum Umlernen," in No. 5 of *Neue Zeit*, 1915.—402.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

A.

Adler, Victor (1852-1918)—Founder and leader of Austrian Social-Democracy. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—98, 244, 245.

Alexinsky, G. A. (born 1879)—In his youth took part in the revolutionary student movement. From the end of 1905 active in the Moscow Social-Democratic organisation. In 1907 was elected to the Second Duma. Attended the London Congress of the R.S.-D.L.P. (1907). After the dissolution of the Second Duma and the arrest of the Social-Democratic Duma group, fled abroad to escape the trial, contrary to the view of the Duma group, who deemed it proper to face the court and the sentence (this meant forced labour for the majority of the members). While abroad, joined the *Vperyod* group. From the beginning of the war, he assumed an ultra-chauvinist position, and joined Plekhanov and the Socialists-Revolutionists Avksentyev and Bunakov as member of the editorial board of the social-patriotic paper *Prizyv;* broke with the party. At the same time contributed to *Russkaya Volya,* which was published in Petrograd in 1916-1917 by the Octobrist, Protopopov, who later became Minister of the Interior, and financed by a banking group; this caused the Menshevik Yordansky, editor of the defensist *Sovremenny Mir,* to publish a note that Alexinsky had been removed from the list of contributors to that magazine. After returning to Russia in 1917, Alexinsky joined Plekhanov's social-patriotic group *Yedinstvo.* The defensist Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of the first formation did not deem it possible to admit him into their midst. During the July demonstrations of the Petrograd workers, Alexinsky, by agreement with the Military Intelligence Service, published forged documents designed to compromise Lenin and the Bolsheviks as German agents and thus to demoralise the movement. In 1918 he was arrested, but allowed freedom on bail. He escaped abroad, where he joined the extreme reactionaries; he was subsequently, together with Burtsev, the chief publicity agent for Baron Wrangel. Among the émigrés he has acquired the well-deserved reputation of a shady and altogether unscrupulous intriguer.—73, 85, 176, 177, 204, 207, 255-257, 308.

A. M.—See *Kollontai.*

A. M.—See *Martynov.*

An—See *Jordania.*

Antonov—See *Kazakov.*

A. P.—See *Pannekoek.*

Astrov (died 1918)—Menshevik-internationalist, one of the members of the Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee; member of the editorial board of the *Izvestia* of the Secretariat. Took an active part in the Revolution of 1917, in its early stage; in the same year went to the Ukraine, where he died a year later.—381.

Axelrod, P. B. (1850-1928)—Prominent Russian Menshevik leader. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—53, 108, 114-117, 132, 150, 170, 177, 182, 184, 185, 195, 203, 205, 206, 239, 250, 276-278, 282, 302, 337, 342*n*, 350-355, 381, 384, 395-397.

B.

Badayev, A. J. (born 1883)—Member of the Fourth Duma; Bolshevik. During the war was sentenced to forced labour and deported to Siberia, together with the other four Bolshevik Duma members. Since the revolution, active in the field of food supply and co-operative organisation.—142, 212, 242.

Barboni, T.—Italian social-chauvinist. Author, *Internazionalismo o Nazionalismo di Classe? (Il proletariato d'Italia e la guerra europea)*.—331, 335-338.

Barrès, Maurice (1862-1923)—French writer and politician, rabid Nationalist and Catholic propagandist, President of the reactionary "Ligue de la Patrie," member of Parliament. During the war distinguished himself by his ultra-chauvinist articles in *Echo de Paris*, full of hatred for Germany.—201.

Basok (Melenevsky)—Ukrainian Social-Democrat, member of the co-operative organisation "Spilka," took part in the Stockholm Congress. During the war, active in the bourgeois "League for the Liberation of the Ukraine," organised with the aid of the German government and financed by it.—111.

Bauer, Otto (born 1882)—Leader of Austrian Social-Democracy, prior to the war an adherent of its Left Wing. Prominent theoretician of Second International on national problems. Was drafted during the war, made a war prisoner in Russia and sent to Siberia, where he was released by the Kerensky government at the demand of the Petrograd Soviet. During his brief stay in Petrograd was close to the Mensheviks-internationalists. After the November (1918) Revolution in Austria, he was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the coalition government. As opponent of the Third International, published several books against Communism and the Soviet system. One of the organisers of the Two-and-one-half International. Head of "Austro-Marxian School." In July, 1927, utilised all his influence as head of Austrian Social-Democracy to suppress uprising of Vienna workers. Bauer is the perfect type of centrist politician, in practice constantly capitulating before the bourgeoisie. Author, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, 1907, etc.—57, 236.

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—One of the founders and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—228.

Belenin—See *Shlyapnikov*.

Belger, Erwin—Prior to the war secretary of one of the German bourgeois organisations founded for the purpose of combating the Social-Democrats. During the war, author of a pamphlet *Die Sozialdemokratie nach dem Kriege*, in which he approved the "patriotic" behaviour of the majority of German Social-Democrats.—306*n*.

Bernstein, Eduard (born 1850)—Prominent German Social-Democrat, member of Reichstag, leader of the Second International. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—54-56, 106, 206, 208, 263, 322, 325.

Berzin, J. A. (born 1881)—Latvian Social-Democrat; now a Communist. Joined the Latvian Social-Democratic Party in 1902. In 1907 was Secretary of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P.; attended the London Congress. In 1908 emigrated abroad; belonged to the revolutionary wing of Latvian Social-Democracy. In 1915 endorsed the declaration of the Bolshevik Central Committee at the London Conference. Attended the Zimmerwald Conference. In 1918, Soviet Minister in Switzerland; in 1925-1927, in Austria.—141.

B——in—See *Berzin*.

Bismarck, Otto von (1815-1898)—Chancellor of the German Empire. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—46, 78, 102, 113, 122*n*, 198.

Bissolati, L. (1857-1919)—One of the founders of the Italian Socialist Party; reformist leader. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—85, 107, 110, 134, 239, 242, 308, 334, 337, 389, 390.

Blatchford, Robert (born 1851)—English Socialist, journalist. Originally contributor to *Sunday Chronicle*, held liberal views; converted to Socialism by Hyndman. One of the founders of the Independent Labour Party. Author of popular agitational book *Merrie England*. During the war, social-chauvinist, united with Hyndman.—165-167.

Bobrinsky, V. A. (born 1868)—Leader of Nationalists in the Duma since 1909; in 1914 appointed Governor-General of Galicia, carried out policy of ruthless Russification.—101, 102.

Bobrov—See *Natanson*.

Borchardt, Julian (born 1868)—German Left Social-Democrat before the war, populariser of Marxism, economist. In 1900-1906, editor of the Social-Democratic papers *Volksblatt*, of Hamburg, and *Volkszeitung*, of Königsberg. In 1911-1913, member of the Prussian Landtag. In 1913 and during the war, editor of the Marxist journal *Lichtstrahlen*. Author of pamphlet, *Vor und nach dem 4. August*, denouncing the conduct of the German Social-Democratic Party. Took part in the Zimmerwald Conference, where he joined the "Zimmerwald Left." In theory shares Rosa Luxemburg's views of accumulation and imperialism.—138.

Borisov, M.—Member of the Bund. Author of an article entitled "On the Liberation Mission and on Patriotism," in No. 7 of the *Information Bulletin* of the Bund, January, 1915.—158.

Boucher, A.—French colonel, who before the World War wrote a number of military treatises, advocating the idea of a joint offensive war of France and Russia against Germany.—164.

Brailsford, Henry Noel (born 1873)—Prominent English publicist. Belonged to the Left Wing of the Liberal Party, later joined the Independent Labour Party. During the war belonged to the pacifist Union of Democratic Control. Was editor of the *Labour Leader*. Author, *The War of Steel and Gold* (1914).—283*n*, 284*n*.

Branting, Hjalmar (1860-1925)—Leader of the Swedish Socialist Party and Prime Minister of bourgeois government. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—105, 134, 309, 389.

Braun, Otto (born 1872)—Member of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party. From 1914, Secretary of the Berlin Social-Democratic organisation and member of Prussian Landtag. Social-chauvinist during the war. Prime-Minister of Prussia from April, 1920, to November, 1921.—138.

Briand, Aristide (born 1862)—French politician. In the nineties was close to Anarcho-Syndicalists; zealous advocate of the general strike; as such won great popularity among the workers and succeeded in being elected to Parliament. Later joined the Jaurès group. In spite of the resolution of the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress (1904), in 1906 joined the bourgeois cabinet as Minister of Public Instruction. Was expelled from the party and joined the group of "Independent Socialists" (Millerand and others), which became in 1911 the "Republican Socialist Party" and has ever since supported Briand's candidacy. From 1906 to the present time, has been almost continuously a member of the government and repeatedly held the posts of Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.—391, 395.

Bukharin, N. I. (born 1889)—Prominent Bolshevik; distinguished Marxist theoretician; economist. Belonged to Social-Democratic groups since his secondary school days. In 1906 worked with the Moscow Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. (Bolsheviks). Was first arrested in 1909; later arrested again and deported to Archangel province; fled from exile at once. Arrested again in 1911, tried by the Moscow Court, freed on bail, and emigrated abroad. Worked with Lenin in Cracow; wrote for the *Social-Democrat*, published abroad, and for the *Pravda* of St. Petersburg. While abroad, was repeatedly arrested. Arrested in Austria shortly before the outbreak of the war and confined in a fortress. Later settled in Stockholm, contributed to the *Kommunist*, published in Geneva, and took an active part in the activities of the Left Swedish Social-Democrats. During that period he disagreed with Lenin on the national problem. Prosecuted in connection with the case of Höglund and others, spent one and one-half months in prison, and was sentenced to be deported from Sweden. On the way to America was arrested in England. While in New York was editor of the Russian Socialist daily *Novy Mir*. After the March Revolution of 1917, he became member of the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik Party, the Moscow District Bureau, and the editorial board of *Sotsial-Demokrat*. At the Sixth Congress of the party he was elected to the Central Committee, and has served on it ever since. At the time of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk he headed a Leftist group, with Radek and Osinsky, and published the *Kommunist.* After the November (1918) Revolution in Germany he recognised that the position of the "Left" had been wrong. In the discussions of 1921 on the trade union question (Workers' Opposition) he assumed a "neutral" position. In 1923-1924 carried on an active struggle against Trotskyism and the "United Opposition." Editor of *Pravda* since its transfer to Moscow in 1918 to 1929; member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party till 1929; member of all successive Executive Committees of the Communist International till 1929. Author of a number of works: *Economic Theory of the Leisure Class; Imperialism and World Economy; Historical Materialism* (these three books have been published in English translation); *The Attack* (collection of articles); *Imperialism and Capital Accumulation, The Economics of the Transition Period,* etc.—399, 400.

Bukvoyed—See *Ryazanov.*

Bulkin, F. A. (Semyonov)—Workingman. Menshevik-Liquidator and Defensist. Gvozdev's aide in the work of the Workers' Group of the Central Committee of War Industries. Member of the editorial board of the *Nash Golos* of Samara.—75.

Bulygin, A. G. (1851-1919)—In 1900-1904, assistant to the Governor-General of Moscow; greatly aided Zubatov's police work. In 1905, appointed member of the Imperial Council and Minister of the Interior, in Svyatopolk-Mirsky's place. Author of the famous first project of the Duma (August 19, 1905). After the Tsar's Manifesto of October 30, 1905, granting certain civil liberties, was relieved of his duties as Minister, remained a member of the Imperial Council.—361.

Bunakov (Fundaminsky, I. I., born 1881)—One of the leaders of the Socialists-Revolutionists. During the war, active member of the social-chauvinist publication *Prizyv,* issued in Paris in 1915, as a common organ of the social-chauvinists, Social-Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionists.—365.

Burtsev, V. I. (born 1862)—Connected with the revolutionary groups of the eighties, now counter-revolutionist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. IV.—99, 238.

C.

Caillaux, Joseph (born 1863)—Prominent French statesman. Member of the Radical-Socialist Party; for many years Minister of Finance, Premier in 1913-1914. Regarded as pro-German, in 1918 was charged by his political adversaries with high treason and sentenced to imprisonment for three years and deportation from Paris for five years. Author of a book *Où va la France? Où va l'Europe?* (*Whither France? Whither Europe?*), in which he expresses very pessimistic views regarding the future of bourgeois society. In 1925 held the portfolio of Finance in the Herriot cabinet.—283*n.*

Cherevanin, F. A. (Lipkin, Nezhdanov)—Menshevik-Liquidator and defensist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—113, 117, 125, 184, 239, 253, 337, 362.

Chernov, V. M. (born 1876)—Leader of Socialists-Revolutionists. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vols. IV and XX.—58, 138-141, 286*n*.

Chernyshevsky, N. G. (1828-1889)—Great Russian scholar and critic. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—100.

Chirkin, V. G. (born 1883)—Workingman. Started revolutionary activities in 1903. Early in 1905 joined the Menshevik organisation, and after the January events of that year became the responsible organiser of the Narva district in St. Petersburg. Elected to the body of electors to the First Duma. Advocated the idea of "Workers' Congress." Was elected delegate to the London Congress of the R.S.-D.L.P. by the workers of the Semyannikov plant, where he was employed. Since 1906, active worker in the trade union movement. During the war, a social-chauvinist. After the March Revolution of 1917 was a delegate to the First and Second Congresses of Soviets. Until the October Revolution, President of the All-Russian Council of Labour Unions. Broke with the Mensheviks in 1918 and joined the Communist Party in 1920.—75.

Chkheidze, N. S. (1864-1926)—Menshevik leader from the Caucasus. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—109, 150, 152, 170, 198, 204, 206-208, 240, 242, 253, 256, 257, 337, 344*n*, 355, 358, 361, 383, 384.

Chkhenkeli, A. I. (born 1874)—Menshevik; lawyer; member of the Fourth Imperial Duma from the Caucasus. In the summer of 1914 he was living in Germany; took part in the Brussels Conference (July, 1914); during the war member of the group of seven Mensheviks in the Duma. From 1918 to 1921, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Georgian "democratic republic."—257.

Clausewitz, Karl von (1780-1831)—Prussian general and strategist, prominent military theorist, took part in the wars of 1806-1807 and of 1812-1814. Author of an important work *Vom Kriege*.—224, 284, 285.

Clemenceau, Georges (1841-1929)—French statesman. For many years member of the Chamber of Deputies and later of the Senate. Leader of the Extreme Left until he became head of the government in 1906; since then, repeatedly Premier. Presided over the Versailles Peace Conference.—383.

Corradini, E. (born 1868)—Leader of Italian Nationalists during the Tripolitan War of 1911.—333.

Cunow, H. (born 1862)—Prominent German Social-Democrat, sociologist and publicist. Member of editorial board of the central organs of the Social-Democratic Party, *Vorwärts* and *Neue Zeit*. Professor of Ethnology and Sociology at Berlin University. During the war, theorist of social-imperialism; raised the question of revising completely the tactics of the party.—277, 278, 280, 281, 287, 297, 321, 338, 371.

D.

Dan, F. J. (born 1871)—Menshevik leader; physician and writer. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—75.

David, Eduard (born 1863)—German Social-Democrat, reformist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—55, 187-191, 200, 228, 257, 275, 303*n*, 315, 393, 397, 398.

Delaisi, F. (born 1873)—French economist. Author of pamphlet *La guerre qui vient*, 1911.—277.

Dolgorukov, P. D.—One of the leaders of the Cadet party; Vice-Chairman of the First Duma.—100.

Dumas, Charles (born 1883)—French Socialist, contributor to a number of Socialist publications. During the war, social-imperialist, aide of Jules Guesde. Author of pamphlet *La paix que nous voulons.*—275.

E.

Engels, Friedrich (1820-1895)—Closest friend and inseparable comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx, co-founder of scientific Socialism and dialectical materialism. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIII; also a sketch of Engels' life written by Lenin in 1895 (Vol. I), and D. Ryazanov, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.*—16-25, 36, 41-48, 51, 53, 57, 70, 93, 95, 101, 113, 120, 122, 123, 133, 162, 163, 188, 224, 227, 233, 236, 284-286, 346, 347, 364, 375, 392, 394.

F.

Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804-1872)—German philosopher, who exerted a tremendous influence upon the development of philosophical materialism. In his *Ludwig Feuerbach* Engels points out the great importance of Feuerbach's works in the shaping of Marx's and Engels' materialistic conception. He also indicates there the shortcomings of Feuerbachian materialism. See also Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIII.—15, 16, 20-22, 47, 295.

G.

Gambetta, Léon (1838-1882)—Prominent French bourgeois statesman. His political activities began in 1868, when he acted as defence counsel in the case of Delescluze, who was later one of the leaders of the Paris Commune. On September 4, 1870, after the overthrow of the Second Empire, he became member of the Government of National Defence as Minister of the Interior. Organiser of the so-called "national defence" of France in 1871 after the collapse of the French army and the occupation of Paris by the Germans.—383.

Gardenin, Y.—See *Chernov.*

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian statesman, leader in Italy's wars for national liberation. In his youth joined the secret society "Young Italy," founded by Mazzini. In 1848 and 1849 fought for the independence of Italy at the head of a detachment of volunteers. In 1859 took part in Italy's war against Austria; seized Sicily in 1860. In 1870-1871 fought in the French army against the Germans.—120, 286, 331.

Giffen (1837-1910)—English economist and statistician.—284*n.*

Giolitti, Giovanni (1843-1928)—Prominent Italian statesman. Member of Parliament from 1882; later, Minister of Finance in the Crispi cabinet. Was Premier four times from 1902 to 1911. During the war favoured a German orientation.—334*n.*

Golay, Paul—French Socialist. During the war edited a small Socialist paper in Lausanne. Author of pamphlet *Le socialisme qui meurt et le socialisme qui doit renaître.*—231, 323-329.

Gompers, Samuel (1850-1924)—Originally a cigar-maker. As an immigrant worker was active in the Cigar-Makers' Union in the late seventies and early eighties; also considered himself a Socialist at that time. Later became an enemy of Socialism and of all radical movements. One of the founders of the A. F. of L., of which he was president for over forty years, having been elected to that post every year from 1882 to his death, with the exception of one year, 1884. As the outstanding leader of the A. F. of L., he inspired the organisation with its reactionary policies, developing it as a loose federation of more than a hundred craft unions, interested in the main in the organisation of the skilled and higher-paid workers. Class collaboration was his guiding principle, and he fought bitterly every manifestation of revolutionary tendencies in the labour movement. He was even opposed to the Amsterdam International, considering it too radical for the A. F. of L. to be affiliated with it. Served as vice-president of the National Civic Federation. Energetically supported the government in the prosecution of the war; served as a propagandist in the United States and abroad in the interests of the Allies; participated in the government labour delegation to the Paris Peace Conference and the League of Nations. Was a bitter opponent of the Soviet Union and fought the movement for Russian recognition in America.—374.

Gorchakov, A. M. (1798-1883)—Russian diplomat, represented Russia at the Berlin Congress of 1878.—120.

Gorter, Hermann (1864-1927)—Dutch Socialist of the Left Wing, later a Communist. Founded in 1907, with a group of Left Wingers (Pannekoek, Roland-Holst, Wynkoop, Ceton, and others), the radical paper, *De Tribune.* In 1909 was expelled from the official Socialist Party. During the war, an internationalist; published pamphlet on *Imperialism, the War, and Social-Democracy.* Took part in the forming of the Left Social-Democratic Party of Holland, which joined the Communist International in 1919. Later withdrew from the Communist movement.—54, 135, 174, 232, 309, 393.

Greulich, Hermann (1842-1925)—Swiss Social-Democrat, member of Grütli Verein, a social-reformist organisation which up to 1915 existed as an autonomous part of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party; social-chauvinist during the war.—134, 309, 389.

Grey, Sir Edward (born 1862)—One of the leaders of the Liberal Party in England. Took active part in the forming of the Triple Entente. During

the war, Foreign Secretary till the end of 1916. In 1921 came out in opposition to Lloyd George's coalition government.—72, 180.

Grimm, Robert (born 1881)—Secretary Swiss Social-Democratic Party. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—134, 309, 349.

Grunwald, Max—German social-imperialist. Secretary of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag from 1903 to 1913.—364.

Guchkov, A. I. (born 1862)—Large Moscow real-estate owner and industrialist; president of the Third Duma. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—100, 286, 352.

Guesde, Jules (1845-1922)—Leader and theoretician of orthodox French Marxism. Defensist during the war. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—57, 85, 107, 110, 116, 117, 142, 160, 161, 194, 274, 301, 302, 303*n,* 313, 337, 341, 342, 348, 349, 388.

Guillaume, James (1844-1915)—French Anarchist; fought with Bakunin against Marxism at the time of the First International. Was especially active in the French and Swiss Jura region. Author of a book on the First International, *L'Internationale,* in four volumes. During the war advocated the defence of the fatherland.—228.

Gvozdev, K. A. (born 1883)—Menshevik-Liquidator; defensist during the war. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—378.

H.

Haase, Hugo (1863-1919)—One of the leaders of German Social-Democracy. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—90, 96, 194, 206, 208, 247, 310, 311, 322, 393.

Haenisch, Konrad (1876-1926)—German Social-Democrat. During the war, a social-imperialist. One of the leading contributors to *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and other social-chauvinist publications.—136, 178, 303*n,* 364.

Hapsburgs—The imperial dynasty in Austria until the Revolution of 1918.—143.

Harms, Bernhard (born 1876)—Prominent German bourgeois economist. Director of the Kiel Institute of World Economy; publisher of *Weltwirtschafts-Archiv.* Author of *Volkswirtschaft und Weltwirtschaft* (*National Economy and World Economy*).—291.

Hegel, G. (1770-1831)—Famous German idealist philosopher. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vols. IV and XIII.—15, 20, 21, 283, 284.

Heine, Wolfgang (born 1861)—German Social-Democrat, opportunist. Member of Reichstag since 1898. During the war, a social-imperialist. Contributor to *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and other social-chauvinist publications.—242, 244, 245, 247, 303*n,* 385, 393, 396.

Henderson, Arthur (born 1863)—English trade unionist; leader of the British Labour Party; Foreign Secretary in MacDonald 1929-30 cabinet. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—318, 393.

Hervé, Gustave (born 1871)—French Anarcho-Syndicalist. Prior to the war belonged to the extreme Left of the Socialist Party, advocating anti-militarism and anti-patriotism, published the paper *La guerre sociale*. During the war, an extreme social-imperialist; favoured a complete breaking up of Germany; changed the name of his paper to *La Victoire*. Bitter enemy of Soviet Russia, closely associated with Burtsev in the attacks on the Soviet government.—85, 110, 190, 347.

Hindenburg, Paul von (born 1847)—Commander-in-chief of the German army during the war. Since the death of the Social-Democratic president Ebert in 1925, president of the German Republic.—206, 247, 262, 264, 268, 364.

Höglund, Zeth (born 1884)—Leader of Swedish Left Socialist Party. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—134, 208, 249, 309.

Hohenzollerns—The imperial dynasty in Germany until the Revolution of 1918.—143.

Hyndman, Henry Mayers (1842-1921)—Organiser and leader of the British Social-Democratic Federation in the eighties and one of the founders, in 1911, of the British Socialist Party, which had little influence over the British labour movement. Swerved to social-chauvinism at the beginning of the war, for which he was expelled from the party.—85, 86, 105, 107, 110, 136, 160, 165, 262, 274-276, 282, 301, 302, 303*n*, 341, 342, 371, 393, 395.

I.

Ilyin—One of Lenin's pseudonyms.

J.

Joffre, J. (born 1852)—French Marshal; during the war, commander-in-chief of the French army on the Western front until October, 1916; afterwards, President of the War Council of the Allies.—206, 262, 264, 268.

Jordania, Noe (Kostrov, An, born 1869)—Georgian Social-Democrat; many times arrested. One of the founders of Georgian Social-Democracy and influential among the Russian Mensheviks. Member of the first Imperial Duma and leader of the Duma fraction. Social-chauvinist during the war. Head of the Menshevik government of Georgia after the October Revolution. At present plotting abroad against the U.S.S.R.—256.

Jouhaux, Léon (born 1876)—Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour, Anarcho-Syndicalist. Prior to the war, an anti-patriot and advocate of the general strike. During the war changed his views abruptly and became an extreme social-patriot. In 1916 became the head of the International Relations Bureau of the Labour Unions, established in place of the Berlin International Secretariat. In 1919, delegate to the Commission of International Labour Legislation of the League of Nations. One of the leaders of the Amsterdam International.—348.

K.

K.—See *Kautsky.*

Kamenev, L. (Rosenfeld, born 1883)—Prominent Bolshevik. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—52, 151.

Kautsky, Karl (born 1854)—Famous theoretician of German Social-Democracy and the Second International; considered at one time the greatest Marxist since Marx and Engels, he tried to combine internationalism and defensism during the war, and following the Russian Revolution sank to open counter-revolution. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—51-56, 65, 69, 73, 74, 85, 86, 90-96, 98, 107, 110, 116, 119, 120, 125-127, 129, 133, 148, 158-167, 171-175, 178, 180-183, 187, 194, 195, 197, 199, 203, 206, 209, 226, 228, 231, 233, 244-248, 256, 263, 274-305, 309-314, 316-322, 325, 327, 328, 332, 336-338, 341, 342, 346, 349-355, 364, 369, 371, 372, 383, 385-388, 390, 392-396, 401, 402.

Kazakov (Antonov, Sviyagin, Brittman, Popov, died 1915)—Old Bolshevik; after the Revolution of 1905 was sentenced to hard labour for participation in Bolshevik military organisation; escaped from Siberia; belonged to the Paris section of the Bolsheviks; contributed to Bolshevik papers, the *Pravda* in particular. After the outbreak of the war enlisted in the French army as a volunteer; was soon killed at the front.—73*n.*

Keir Hardie, J. (1856-1915)—Former mine worker. Until 1893, follower of Christian Socialism and Liberalism. Later, founder and leader of Independent Labour Party. Member of Parliament for many years. Founder and editor of the *Labour Leader.* Prominent member of Second International, took part in a number of international congresses. Jointly with Vaillant introduced at the Copenhagen Congress (1910) a resolution favoring a general strike in case of a threatening war. During the war assumed a pacifist position. Took part in London Conference of the Socialists of Entente Countries.—72, 85, 140, 141, 157.

Kerensky, A. F. (born 1881)—Socialist-Revolutionist; Premier in several cabinets in the Provisional governments in 1917. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—110, 238, 382.

Khvostov, A. N. (1872-1918)—Big landowner in Oryol province. Elected to the Duma in 1912; leader and chairman of the extreme Right. Appointed Minister of the Interior in November, 1915.—361, 363, 365, 380.

Kitchener, Horatio (1850-1916)—Noted English general; distinguished himself chiefly in colonial wars, where he displayed an exceptional cruelty. His campaign in the Sudan (1896-1898) is particularly notorious. Was in charge of military operations against the Boers in the South African War of 1899-1900. During the World War, Secretary of War in Asquith's cabinet and commander-in-chief of the British army.—264.

Kluck, Alexander von (born 1846)—German general, commander of the army which operated in Belgium and Northern France in the first months of the war.—96.

Kolb, W. (1870-1918)—German Social-Democrat. During the war, a social-chauvinist. Author of pamphlet *Die Sozialdemokratie am Scheidewege* (*Social-Democracy at the Crossroads*).—364, 365, 385, 393, 396.

Kollontai, A. M. (born 1872)—First worked with the Mensheviks; was active in the women's movement. Took an internationalist position from the very beginning of the war. In close touch with Lenin, was deported from Sweden for internationalist propaganda. Went twice to America, where she travelled and lectured extensively. Upon her return to Russia after the events of July, 1917, was arrested by the Kerensky government together with other Bolsheviks whom she had joined abroad. In 1921, during the discussion on the role of the trade unions, she belonged to the Workers' Opposition. At present Soviet representative in Norway.—208-210.

Kossovsky, V. (M. Y. Levinson, born 1867)—One of the oldest participants in the Jewish Social-Democratic movement; founder and member of the Central Committee of the Bund. Menshevik. During the war, a social-chauvinist with pro-German leanings.—73, 132, 158, 204, 273, 318, 337, 381.

Krestovnikov—Prominent Russian manufacturer and stock market operator. President of the Stock Exchange Society and Mercantile Society of Moscow. Prominent in Octobrist Party.—100.

Krichevsky, B. N. (died 1919)—One of the first Social-Democrats in Russia; publicist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—353.

Kropotkin, P. A. (1842-1921)—Founder and theoretician of Anarcho-Communism. During one of his trips abroad came close to Bakuninists. Belonged to the Populist-Chaikovsky group, was arrested in 1874, escaped from prison with the aid of Kravchinsky (Stepnyak) and fled to England. Was deported from Switzerland in 1881; in 1883 was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for membership in International Workers' Association, but was released in 1886. Settled in London and devoted himself entirely to scientific and literary writings. During the war, a chauvinist, sided with the Entente; expounded his views of the war in the columns of the Cadet paper, *Russkiye Vyedomosti*, and in letters to his friends, which were collected and published in 1917 under the title *Letters on Current Events*. After the 1917 Revolution returned to Russia, where he died in 1921.—99, 238, 336, 337.

Kudashev, I. A. (born 1859)—Diplomat in the service of the tsarist government. During the war, Russian Minister to Belgium; took a part in the editing of Vandervelde's telegram to the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. In the last days of autocracy, Russian Ambassador in China.—241.

Kutler, N. N. (1859-1924)—Liberal bureaucrat; presented a liberal plan for land reform. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—100.

Kuznetsov, N. V.—Attended the London Congress of the R.S.-D.L.P.; later, an exile abroad; in 1910-1914, a member of the Paris section of the Bolsheviks; after the outbreak of the war enlisted as a volunteer in the French army and was killed at the front.—73*n*.

L.

Labriola, Arturo (born 1859)—Theoretician and leader of Italian Anarcho-Syndicalism. Assumed a chauvinist position during the Tripolitan War (1911-1912). Social-chauvinist during the World War.—332, 333.

Larin, Y. (M. A. Lurie; born 1882)—Writer and publicist; originally Menshevik and Liquidator; author of the Right Wing plan of convening a "general labour congress" to take the place of the party (1907). During the war followed the internationalist section of the Mensheviks headed by Martov. After the March Revolution took a Left position among the Mensheviks-internationalists. In July, 1917, joined the Bolshevik Party. Outstanding student of economic problems of the Soviet Union. Works in Soviet economic organisations.—105, 109, 150.

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—One of the outstanding leaders of the early German labour movement, orator, publicist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. IV.—45, 46, 120-123, 188, 295.

Leder—Polish Social-Democrat; chauvinist during the war; now a Communist.—86.

Legien, Karl (1861-1920)—Reformist leader of German Trade Unions. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—257, 304, 311, 314, 315, 317, 319, 374, 393, 395, 396.

Lensch, Paul (born 1873)—Prior to the war, Left Social-Democrat. Edited one of the best Social-Democratic papers, *Leipziger Volkszeitung,* whose contributors included Mehring, Luxemburg, and other representatives of the Left Wing. After the outbreak of the war Lensch became a fierce German chauvinist; after the war steadily shifted to the right, became the editor of *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* Stinnes' chief organ. He could not be suffered even in the ranks of the present Social-Democratic Party and was expelled in 1922.—136, 178, 228, 280, 287, 303*n.*

Leroy-Beaulieu, A. (1842-1912)—French economist and historian. Author, *Socialisme et démocratie* (1892), *Le christianisme et socialisme* (1905), *L'empire des tsars et les Russes.*—352.

Levitsky, V. (pseudonym of V. O. Zederbaum, born 1883)—Socialist-Democrat, Menshevik-Liquidator. Contributed to legal periodicals of the Liquidators. During the war, a socialist-chauvinist, prominent contributor to *Nasha Zarya, Nashe Dyelo,* and *Dyelo.* Contributed to the collective book *Samozashchita* (*Self-Defence*).—337, 362.

Liebknecht, Karl (1871-1919)—Left German Social-Democrat; militant internationalist and opponent of the imperialist war. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—85, 143, 218, 228, 257, 315, 336, 393.

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—One of the founders of German Social-Democracy. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—46, 52, 113, 220.

LIEBMANN (Hersch)—Member of the Bund. Professor at the University of Geneva. In 1912-1914, member of the editorial board of the Bund papers *Zeit* and *Unsere Zeit*, published in St. Petersburg, supporting the Liquidationist policies. During the war, Centrist; later, adherent of the Two-and-one-half International.—371.

LITVINOV, M. M. (Maximovich, born 1876)—Prominent Bolshevik. Began as a propagandist among workers in 1898. While in prison, joined the *Iskra* group. Deported for five years to Eastern Siberia, escaped from prison and fled to Switzerland. After the Second Party Congress in 1902 he joined the Bolsheviks. Returned illegally to Russia in 1903, and carried on responsible party work. Took active part in the preparation of the Third Party Congress as a member of the Bureau of the Bolshevik Committee. In 1907 was a delegate to the International Congress of Stuttgart and secretary to the Russian delegation. Was secretary of the London group of Bolsheviks; took an active part in the labour movement in Scotland; attended the Berne Conference of Bolshevik groups abroad in 1912. Delegate of the Bolshevik section to the International Socialist Bureau. At the London Conference of Socialists of Entente Countries (1915) protested in the name of the Central Committee against the support of the war by Socialists and quit the Conference as a protest. After the October Revolution appointed Soviet representative in England, but was arrested, held as hostage, and exchanged against Lockhart, British Consul imprisoned in Soviet Russia. Member of the Soviet delegation to the Genoa Conference; chairman of the Soviet delegation to The Hague Conference. At present, Acting Commissar for Foreign Affairs.—140, 141, 157, 158.

LLOYD GEORGE, D. (born 1863)—English statesman, leader of the Liberal Party; former Premier. Prior to the war, carried out a number of democratic reforms, such as limitation of the powers of the House of Lords, extension of the franchise, etc. During the war, enforced, in coalition with the Conservatives, the dictatorship of imperialists, destroying many achievements of the working class and even the basic principles of the English Constitution; introduced compulsory military service, suppressed Ireland with fire and sword. For three years helped the Russian White Guards with funds of the British Treasury in their struggle against the Soviet power. In 1920, after the final defeat of the White Guards, took the initiative in resuming trade relations with Soviet Russia.—291*n*, 352, 393, 395.

LUCAS, C. P. (born 1853)—English publicist, advocate of British imperialism. Author, *Greater Rome and Greater Britain*, 1912.—306*n*.

LUXEMBURG, ROSA (1871-1919)—One of the founders of the Polish Social-Democracy; theoretician and one of leaders of revolutionary wing of German Social-Democracy. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—52. 56, 190, 276, 297, 301.

LUZZATI, L. (1841-1929)—Italian economist and statesman; for many years Minister of Finance, Premier in 1910-1911. In 1920, Minister of Finance in the Nitti cabinet.—71.

M.

MacDonald, J. Ramsay (born 1866)—Leader of the British Labour Party and Prime Minister 1924, 1929-30. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—85, 140.

Mackensen, August (born 1849)—German general, one of the most prominent army commanders during the World War.—247.

Maisky, V. (Lyakhovetsky, I. M.)—During the war, a Menshevik, adherent of the Organisation Committee and one of their delegates to the London Conference of Socialists of the Entente Countries (1915) ; contributor to *Sovremenny Mir* and *Lyetopis.* After the March Revolution, member of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks. During the civil war, Minister of Labour and Chief Clerk of the Samara Committee of the Constituent Assembly in 1918. Subsequently shifted to the left. At present, member of the Communist Party, works in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.—140, 141.

Mankov, I. N. (born 1881).—Member of the Menshevik group in the Fourth Duma. Social-chauvinist during the war. At the Duma session in January, 1915, voted for the budget against the decision of the group, which expelled him from its midst.—150, 381, 382.

Markov, N. J. (born 1866)—Member of reactionary Union of Russian People; member of Third and Fourth Imperial Dumas and leader of the extreme Right. Large landowner in Kursk Province. Since the March Revolution active in monarchist émigré circles.—363.

Martov, L. (1873-1923)—Leader of Mensheviks. Participated in Petersburg Union of Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class. One of the editors of the *Iskra.* At Second Congress of the R.S.-D.L.P. in 1903 headed the minority (Mensheviks). In the years of reaction after 1905 he supported the Liquidators. During the war he was a Menshevik-internationalist. Participated in the Zimmerwald Conference (Centre) and edited the pacifist *Nashe Slovo,* which appeared in Paris. After the March Revolution he, together with a group of like-minded Mensheviks, returned to Russia through Germany. During the first period of the revolution, he occupied an internationalist position, disagreeing with the majority of his party, which adhered to a social-defensist policy. At the Second Soviet Congress he advocated the formation of a government consisting of representatives of all Socialist parties; when the Mensheviks and the Right Socialists-Revolutionists left the Congress, he stayed. Soon, however, he succumbed to the Menshevik influence, and later passed into the camp of the enemies of the Soviet Government. In 1920 he emigrated to Berlin, where he edited the *Sotsialistichesky Vestnik* (*Socialist Messenger*), central organ of the Mensheviks.—70, 73*n*, 86, 95, 98, 108, 132, 140, 150, 204, 205, 256, 257, 302, 304*n*, 350-352, 354, 381-384.

Martynov, A. S. (Pikker, born 1865)—Member of the Narodnaya Volya in his youth, became a Social-Democrat while an exile in Siberia. Emigrated in 1900, joined the League of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad; editor of *Rabocheye Dyelo;* as a theorist of Economism, he was sharply criticised by

Lenin. At Second Congress of the party, joined the Mensheviks and became one of their leaders and a contributor to the *Iskra* when edited under Menshevik auspices, and to leading Menshevik publications in subsequent years. During the war held a vacillating position; close to Martov's group. Member of the Menshevik Organisation Committee. Attended the Zimmerwald Conference, where he joined the majority. After the October Revolution he gradually moved to the left; now a member of the Communist Party.—353, 381.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—One of the foremost thinkers of the nineteenth century; founder of scientific Socialism and dialectical materialism. See the article by Lenin, pp. 15-57 of this volume, and also D. Ryazanov: *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,* and *Karl Marx: Man, Thinker, and Revolutionist,* a collection of essays edited by Ryazanov.—15-58, 66, 67, 69, 87, 101, 113-115, 119-123, 128, 129, 132, 133, 162, 173, 188, 219, 224, 227, 233, 236, 261, 276, 284-286, 346, 359, 364, 369, 370, 373, 375.

Mashinadze, B.—See *Tevzaya.*

Maslov, P. P. (born 1867)—Well-known Menshevik economist, specialist in agrarian questions. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—56, 73, 81, 85, 86, 99, 108, 109, 114, 120, 179, 184, 239, 362.

Maximovich—See *Litvinov.*

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919)—Outstanding German revolutionary Marxist; historian and journalist; biographer of Marx. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. IV.—52, 85, 86, 94, 122*n*, 276, 297, 301.

Menshikov, M. O. (born 1859)—Reactionary publicist; contributor to *Novoye Vremya.*—99.

Merrheim, A. (1881-1925)—French Syndicalist; organiser of the Union of Boilermakers; later Secretary of the Labor Exchange in Roubaix; elected in 1905 to the Secretariat of the Metal Workers' Union, whose leader he remained for a number of years. Took part in all the conventions of the General Confederation of Labour. In 1915 together with Bourderon represented the French Left at Zimmerwald and signed, jointly with the Germans, an anti-war declaration. Upon his return to France, took an active part in the organisation of the "Committee for the Resumption of International Relations." In 1916, at a conference of Syndicalist organisations and Labour Exchanges, voted with Jouhaux in favour of a resolution which greeted Wilson. In 1918 definitely joined Jouhaux and became an adherent of the Amsterdam International of labour unions.—348.

Meshkovsky, I. P. (Goldenberg, 1873-1922)—Old Bolshevik; member of the Central Committee in 1907-1909; in 1909 was the representative of the Central Committee at the Social-Democratic group of the Third Duma. During the war, a defensist. In his last years returned to Bolshevism.—73.

Michels, Roberto. (born 1876)—Italian bourgeois economist and sociologist; a German by birth. Author of a number of works, including *Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der modernen Demokratie* (*Sociology of the Party System in Modern Democracy*), *L'imperialismo italiano* (*Italian Imperialism*), etc.—331, 332, 334*n*.

Millerand, A. (born 1859)—French politician; gradually evolved from Socialism to bourgeois reaction. First Socialist to join a bourgeois cabinet (1899-1902), where he sat with General Gallifet, the suppressor of the Paris Commune, and thus afforded a practical illustration of Bernsteinism, which gave rise to violent controversies, both within the French party and on an international scale. Expelled from party in 1904; formed, together with several other former Socialists and future bourgeois Ministers (Briand, Viviani, etc.), a party of "Independent Socialists." President of the French Republic (1920-1924); extreme reactionary, virtual leader of French Fascism.—286, 349, 391.

Milyukov, Paul (born 1859)—Leader of Constitutional-Democratic Party and of Russian liberalism; bitter opponent of the Soviet Government. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—168, 352, 399.

Monitor—Pseudonym of a German Social-Democrat, opportunist; during the war wrote in the reactionary *Preussische Jahrbücher* on the "new" principles of Social-Democratic tactics.—249, 311, 391-393.

Morel, E. D. (1873-1924)—English liberal. During the war, a bourgeois pacifist, secretary-treasurer of the pacifist Union of Democratic Control; contributor to the *Labour Leader*.—163, 164.

M-sky—See *Maisky*.

Muranov, M. K. (born 1873)—Bolshevik. Member Fourth Imperial Duma, elected by the workers of Kharkov Province. In 1914 arrested, together with the Bolshevik Duma fraction, and exiled to Siberia. After March Revolution returned to Petrograd. At present member of Central Control Commission of the Communist Party and member of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R. —142, 153, 154, 156, 212, 242, 318.

Mussolini, B. (born 1883)—Prior to the war, prominent in the Italian Socialist Party; editor of *Avanti*, central organ of the party. Broke with the party in September, 1914, and founded a paper of his own, *Popolo d'Italia*, in which he advocated Italy's entrance into the war on the side of the Entente. Ideologist and organiser of Italian Fascism, and head of the Fascist government.—107, 242.

N.

Napoleon III (1808-1873)—Emperor of France from 1852 to 1870; evaluated by Marx in his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*.—120, 122, 220, 228.

Natanson, M. A. (Bobrov, 1850-1919)—A founder of the Land and Freedom Party in 1872; Left Socialist-Revolutionist; later a Communist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—140, 141.

Naumann, F. (1860-1919)—German bourgeois politician. In his youth, a clergyman. Later became interested in social problems, gave up the ministry and engaged in politics and journalistic work. Founded in 1896 the

National-Socialist Party, aiming at the conciliation of the interests of the workers with those of the capitalists. In 1903 the party broke up, and he joined the Freethinkers' Union. After the Revolution of 1918 he was a member of the National Assembly and the first Chairman of the Democratic Party.—352, 395.

NENAROKOMOV, G. P. (born 1874)—Prosecuting Attorney at the tsarist court; "Special Prosecutor" in political cases, acted as such in February, 1915, in the case of the five Bolshevik Duma members.—241.

NICHOLAS II (1868-1918)—Last Tsar of Russia.—79, 264, 285.

NIKITIN, A. M.—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. Counsel to the Moscow labour unions in the period of reaction; promoter of legal workers' "educational societies" and clubs. In 1912, member of a delegation of liberal bar members sent to investigate conditions in the Lena gold fields where a massacre of striking workers had taken place. One of the Social-Democratic candidates to the Fourth Duma from Moscow. During the war, a social-chauvinist. After the March Revolution, Minister of Justice in Kerensky's last cabinet and member of the September Directorate (Kerensky, Tereshchenko, Verkhovsky, Nikitin, Verderevsky).—73.

NIKOLAI VASILYEVICH—See *Kuznetsov.*

O.

ORANSKY, K. (Kuchin, G. D.)—Menshevik-Liquidator. Social-chauvinist during the war; contributor to *Nasha Zarya* and other social-chauvinist publications.—378.

P.

PAISH, GEORGE (born 1867)—English bourgeois economist, one of the publishers of the *Statist.*—291*n*.

PANNEKOEK, ANTON (pseudonym of K. Horner)—Left Dutch Socialist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—57, 85, 97, 134, 190, 232, 278, 309, 393.

PARABELLUM—See *Radek.*

PARVUS (A. L. Helphand, 1869-1924)—Russian Marxist who worked in the Left Wing of the German Social-Democracy; extreme chauvinist during the war. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works,* Vol. XX.—364, 365, 371.

PETROVSKY, G. I. (born 1879)—Workingman; old Bolshevik; member Fourth Duma. Was arrested in November, 1914, and exiled to Siberia together with entire Bolshevik Duma fraction. Returned to Petrograd after March Revolution. Chairman of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of Soviets and of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.—142, 151-155, 212, 242.

PLEKHANOV, G. V. (1856-1918)—Outstanding theoretician of Marxism, founder of the Emancipation of Labour group, the first Marxist political organisation in Russia. Conducted an energetic struggle in the nineties against "Bernsteinism" (revisionism) and its Russian counterpart Economism. One of the editors of the *Iskra* and the *Zarya* during the first years of this century. Joined first the Bolsheviks, after the split at the Second Congress of the party in 1903, and later the Mensheviks, but soon left them as well. After the defeat of the December uprising in 1905, Plekhanov came out with the famous declaration, "They should not have taken up arms." With the appearance of Liquidationism, Plekhanov came closer to the Bolsheviks during their struggle against it. With the beginning of the World War he took an extreme social-chauvinist position, advocating class truce; together with Alexinsky and the Right Socialists-Revolutionists he published a magazine, *Prizyv*, in Paris, counselling the Russian workers to refrain from strikes and to give up their struggle against tsarism in order to win a victory over Germany. After the March Revolution he published a paper, *Yedinstvo*, in Petrograd, advocating war to victory and abstention from class-struggle. After the October Revolution the Plekhanovists fought bitterly against the Soviet Government. Plekhanov himself was undecided in the last few months of his life, and while an opponent of the Soviet Government he stated that "one must not take up arms against the working class even if it is mistaken." The Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow is now publishing his collected works, which will make up twenty-odd volumes.—52, 65, 66, 73, 81, 85, 86, 91, 98, 99, 102, 105, 107-113, 120, 150, 156, 160, 161, 166, 167, 170, 176-179, 182, 194, 203, 204, 207, 208, 225, 227, 231, 233, 242, 244, 250, 255-257, 274-276, 280-287, 301, 302, 303*n*, 308, 310, 313, 321, 327, 328, 332-334, 336, 337, 341, 342, 347, 358-361, 364, 365, 371, 372, 381, 383, 388, 398, 399.

Poincaré, Raymond (born 1860)—French statesman; arch-reactionary and enemy of the Russian Revolution. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—79.

Potresov, A. N. (Starover, born 1869)—Social-Democrat; later Right Menshevik-Liquidator. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—113, 117-132, 170-175, 182, 184, 185, 239, 253, 264, 265, 284*n*, 318, 335, 337, 362.

Purishkevich, V. M. (1870-1919)—Organiser and leader of monarchist organisations. Member of Second, Third, and Fourth Dumas, where he headed the extreme Right. During the war worked actively for the army needs in the rear. Took part in the assassination of Rasputin. Active in the counter-revolutionary movement in South Russia.—101, 102, 108, 113, 114, 168, 169, 334, 399.

Q.

Quarck, M. (born 1860)—German social-chauvinist; editor of *Volksstimme;* contributor to *Vorwärts*.—261, 262.

R.

Radek, Karl (Parabellum, born 1883)—Old Bolshevik; active in 1905 Revolution in Poland; publicist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—190, 278, 367-372.

Radishchev, A. N. (1749-1802)—Liberal writer; advocated abolition of serfdom. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—100.

Rakovsky, Christian (born 1873)—Rumanian Socialist, then Communist and high Soviet official; later expelled from party and removed from posts for participation in Opposition. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—209, 232.

Renner, Karl (born 1871)—Prominent Revisionist in the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. One of the theoreticians of "Cultural-National Autonomy." During the war, a social-chauvinist. After the Revolution of 1918, headed the government of Austria.—52, 236.

Repington (1858-1922)—English colonel, writer on military matters.—164.

Robespierre, Maximilien (1758-1794)—French Jacobin; leader of the French Revolution; victim of Thermidor. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—286.

Rodichev, F. I. (born 1856)—Landowner, leader of liberal opposition in the Zemstvos. One of the founders and leaders of Cadet Party. Deputy to all Dumas. In 1917 Provisional Government's Commissar in Finland.—100.

Roland-Holst, Henrietta (born 1869)—Dutch writer and Marxian Socialist; organiser of women's unions. In 1916 she quit the official Socialist Party and joined the Left Socialist Party. For a time member of the Communist Party, withdrawing later from political activities. Belonged to the Zimmerwald Left during the war.—52, 209, 232.

Ropshin—See *Savinkov.*

Rosenfeld—See *Kamenev.*

Rubanovich, I. A. (1860-1920)—One of the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party. Took part in the Narodnaya Volya movement. After the suppression of that party in the eighties, he emigrated abroad. In 1893 joined the "Group of Old Narodovolists." After the organisation of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party, he affiliated with it and became its official representative abroad. In 1904-1909 edited in Paris *La tribune russe.* Member of the International Socialist Bureau. During the war, a social-chauvinist. Attended the London Conference of Socialists of the Entente countries (1915). —99, 109, 110, 140, 141, 238, 344*n.*

Ruedorffer (Ritzner)—German diplomat and publicist. Author, *Grundzüge der Weltpolitik* (*Principles of World Politics*).—307*n.*

Ryazanov, D. (Bukvoyed, born 1870)—Old Russian Social-Democrat; outstanding student of Marx and Marxism; now director of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—197, 198, 200, 201.

S.

Salandra, A. (born 1853)—Italian Premier and Minister of the Interior from April, 1914, to June, 1916; under his premiership Italy withdrew from the Triple Alliance and declared war on Austria. Resigned and withdrew from political activities after the defeat of the Italian armies in the Trentino. —286, 338.

Samoilov, F. N. (born 1882)—Workingman; Bolshevik; member of Fourth Duma. The outbreak of the war found him in Switzerland, where he took part in the discussion of Lenin's "theses"; in September, 1914, he took them to Russia. Exiled to Siberia, together with Bolshevik Duma fraction. Returned after March Revolution.—142, 212.

Savinkov, B. V. (Ropshin, 1879-1925)—Prominent Socialist-Revolutionist, terrorist, adventurer and counter-revolutionist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. IV.—139, 286*n*.

Scheidemann, Philip (born 1865)—Right Wing German Social-Democrat; as leader of party organised counter-revolution with Noske in 1919-1920. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—194, 247, 248, 263, 304, 311, 318-320, 355, 371.

Schultze, Emil—German economist; author, *Das französische Kapital in Russland* (*French Capital in Russia*).—293*n*.

Sembat, Marcel (1862-1922)—A leader of the French Socialist Party; contributor to party publications. During the war, social-chauvinist, joined cabinet of "national defence."—96, 140, 142, 194, 242, 248, 262, 310, 318, 393.

Semkovsky, S. J. (Bronstein, born 1882)—Menshevik; one of the secretaries of Foreign Secretariat of the Organisation Committee (Internationalist "Centre"). Contributor to *Golos*, *Izvestia* of the Foreign Secretariat, and the collective book *The International and War*. Now an educational worker in the Ukraine.—170, 190, 197, 199-201, 204, 205, 371.

Shagov, N. R. (1885-1918)—Workingman, Bolshevik. Elected in 1912 to the Fourth Duma from Kostroma province. Member of the Bolshevik "group of five"; arrested with the other members in 1914, tried, and deported to Siberia.—142, 212.

Shlyapnikov, A. G.—(born 1883)—Began revolutionary activities in the late nineties. Arrested in January, 1905; released in October after general amnesty. Arrested again in 1906, kept in prison until 1907, sentenced to two years' confinement in a fortress. Emigrated early in 1908. Returned to Russia in 1914, worked in St. Petersburg at the Lessner plant, under the direction of the the Bolshevik Duma group and the St. Petersburg Committee of the party. Was sent abroad by the latter in September, 1914, to re-establish connections with the Central Committee; worked in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and England. Upon returning to Russia, organised in Petrograd a Bureau of the Central Committee for the guidance of Social-Democratic activities in Russia. In the beginning of 1916 again went abroad on a party mission. In 1915 was co-opted into the Central Committee. Took part in the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets. After the October Revolution, was appointed Commissar of Labour by the Second Congress of Soviets. In 1919-1920 worked at the Western front; afterwards, in the labour union movement. In 1920-1921, during the discussion of the functions of labour unions and afterwards, headed the "Workers' Opposition" and advocated a policy which was essentially Syndicalist.—73, 105.

SINCLAIR, UPTON (born 1878)—Well-known American writer and member of the Socialist Party; frequently a candidate for public office on that party's ticket.—165, 166.

SMIRNOV, E. (E. Gurevich)—Social-Democrat. Belonged to the group *Borba*, founded abroad (1901-1903). After 1905 contributed to the liberal paper *Tovarishch* (*Comrade*). In the years of reaction, a Menshevik-Liquidator. During the war, a social-chauvinist. Now working at the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow.—73, 81, 85, 99, 108, 109.

SOKOLOV, N. D. (died 1928)—Attorney; acted as defence counsel in a number of important political cases during the Stolypin counter-revolution. Until 1917 was close to the Bolsheviks.—73.

SORGE, F. A. (1828-1906)—German Socialist; took part in Baden insurrection in 1849. Was Secretary of First International after the transfer of its General Council to America, 1872-1876, where he had emigrated after the defeat of the insurrection. Corresponded for years with Marx and Engels and was of valuable service to the international labour movement. In 1872 attended the last European Congress of the First International at The Hague. Wrote a number of articles, printed mostly in *Neue Zeit*, and edited for publication his own correspondence with the founders of Marxism. (*Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906.)—46, 160, 375.

SPARGO, JOHN (born 1876)—In 1900 emigrated from England, where he was a member of the Social-Democratic Federation. As an eloquent speaker and popular writer he soon began to play a leading role in the American Socialist Party. He was editor of the *Comrade*, a Socialist monthly which had a short existence, and is the author of a number of books offering popular expositions of Socialism. In his writings and in his activity as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party Spargo proved himself to be a reformist Socialist with distinct leanings toward Christian Socialism. His book on the life and work of Marx was roundly attacked by all revolutionary Marxists and students of Marx generally as an illiterate work. During the war Spargo became a social-patriot and a rabid jingo. After the October Revolution he turned his attention to Bolshevik-baiting, and later, as a hired agent of various reactionary organisations, publicly embraced capitalism and renounced his former Socialist convictions.—52.

STRÖBEL, HEINRICH—German Social-Democrat. In the beginning of the war assumed an internationalist position, contributed to the magazine *Internationale*, published by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring. Later joined the social-chauvinists.—311*n*.

STRUVE, P. B. (born 1870)—Russian economist and publicist; formerly "legal" Marxist, now a monarchist. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—56, 287, 352, 359.

Südekum, Albert (born 1871)—Prominent German Social-Democrat; Revisionist; distinguished himself as a parliamentarian before the war, and was at that time already advocating social-imperialist views in regard to the colonial problem. During the war, a social-imperialist; visited Italy and the Scandinavian countries, where he endeavoured, in public addresses and in the press, to justify the conduct of the chauvinist majority of the German Social-Democratic Party. In the early stage of the German Revolution of 1918 served as Prussian Minister of Finance; in 1920 resigned and withdrew from politics.—70, 90, 105, 109, 112, 117, 208, 209, 242, 247, 250, 262, 280, 297, 301, 310, 311, 318, 320, 322, 347, 393, 395, 396.

T.

Tevzaya, V. (Mashinadze, B.)—Georgian Menshevik; social-chauvinist. Contributor to the collective book *The International and War*, published by the Menshevik Organisation Committee.—204.

Thiers, L. (1797-1877)—French statesman and historian. Author of a history of the French Revolution. In 1871 was at the head of the government and suppressed the Paris Commune with extraordinary cruelty and bloodthirstiness. One of the most hideous figures in the gallery of bourgeois statesmen. Marx analysed his role in his *Civil War in France*.—27, 198.

Tria (V. D. Mgeladze)—Georgian worker, Menshevik; took part in the All-Russian Conference of Mensheviks and allied groups at Vienna, in 1912 (the "August Bloc"). During the war was closely connected with the bourgeois-nationalist organisation "League for the Liberation of the Ukraine."—111.

Troelstra, Pieter (born 1860)—Reformist leader of Dutch Socialist Party. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—134, 192-194, 309, 389.

Trotsky, L. D. (born 1879)—Started Social-Democratic activities in Nikolayev, was active in the South Russian Labour Union; was arrested in 1898 and banished to Siberia, from where he fled abroad in 1902. Participated in the Second Congress of R.S.-D.L.P. (1903), and after the split remained with the Mensheviks, participating very actively in the *Iskra*. During 1905 Revolution was active in St. Petersburg. Embraced Parvus's theory of "permanent revolution." Was member of the Executive Committee and later Chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet of 1905. Was arrested together with Soviet Deputies and banished to Siberia, but fled during the trip. Living in Vienna, he formed a group of Social-Democrats and published a paper, *Pravda*. In 1912 he participated in the so-called "August Bloc" created to fight Bolshevism. During the imperialist war was one of the editors of the internationalist paper, *Nashe Slovo*, published in Paris; participated in Zimmerwald Conference, where he leaned toward the centre. In 1916 was banished from France, and later from Spain, and was compelled to go to the United States. Returning to Petrograd after the March Revolution, he joined the internationalist organisation of the "Interboroughites" (Mezhraiontsi) and, together with the latter, joined the Bolshevik Party and was elected to its Central Committee. When the Bolsheviks obtained the majority in the Petrograd Soviet in September, 1917, Trotsky became its chairman. After the October Revolution, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Was opposed to Brest-Litovsk peace, advocating first the policy of "neither war nor peace," then a revolutionary war. People's Commissar of Military Affairs and Chairman Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic from 1918 to 1924. During this period Trotsky occupied a leading position in the Communist Party and Communist International. Was head of a faction in the party in 1920-21 during the discussion on the role of the labour unions, favouring their becoming a part of the state apparatus. In 1923 he organised the opposition in the party which became associated with his name, and in 1926 became the leader of the "United Opposition" through which he developed a sharp factional struggle against the policies of the party, which was declared by the Communist International to have degenerated into a Social-Democratic, counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet Republic. At the end of 1927 he was expelled from the C.P.S.U., having been previously removed from all his positions in the party and the government. In November, 1927, expelled from the Soviet Union.—130-132, 197, 198, 200, 205-208, 232, 255-257, 262, 363.

U.

ULYANOV—Lenin's family name.

V.

VAILLANT, EDOUARD (1840-1915)—One of the most popular leaders of French Socialism. Member of the Paris Commune and of the First International; was close to Marx and Engels. In the French "United Socialist Party" he headed the small Left group of Blanquists. Prior to the World War was a pronounced enemy of militarism; one of the authors of the resolution presented to the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen (1910) favouring the general strike in the event of war. During the war, a social-chauvinist, extreme supporter of the war to the bitter end.—85, 140, 189, 242, 248, 301, 302, 309, 390.

VANDERVELDE, EMILE (born 1866)—Reformist leader of the Belgian Socialist Party and the Second International; participated in Belgian government. See Biographical Notes, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX.—65, 73, 74, 96, 107, 110, 115, 136, 140, 142, 160, 178, 194, 241, 245, 248, 256, 276, 310, 318, 341, 385, 393, 395.

VIVIANI, RENÉ (1863-1925)—Prominent bourgeois statesman in France. Lawyer. Originally a member of the Socialist Party. When the Clemenceau cabinet was formed in 1906, he took the portfolio of the newly created "Ministry of Labour," which caused him to leave the Socialist Party and to join the so-called "Independent Socialists." In 1909 entered the Briand cabinet. During the war was Premier in the Ministry of National Defence (1914-1915). In 1915-1917 was Minister of Justice in the cabinets of Briand and Ribot.—157.

W.

Waltershausen, Sartorius von (born 1852)—Prominent German economist, one of the ideologists of German imperialism. His work has been chiefly in the field of world economy and colonial policy. His principal books: *Das volkswirtschaftliche System der Kapitalanlage im Auslande* (*Economic System of Foreign Capital Investment*), 1907; *Einführung in das Studium der Weltwirtschaft* (*Introduction to the Study of World Economy*), 1923; *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815-1914* (*Economic History of Germany, 1815-1914*).—306*n*.

Webb, Sidney (born 1859)—English economist; reformist Socialist. Founder of the Fabian Society and its representative in the Labour Party. Jointly with his wife, Beatrice, author of several works on economic problems and the history of British trade-unionism. Member of MacDonald cabinet in 1924; entered House of Lords in 1929.—162.

Wilhelm II (born 1859)—German Kaiser from 1888 to 1918.—62, 76, 285.

Wurm, Emanuel (1857-1920)—German Social-Democrat, member of the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag during the war.—393.

Z.

Zetkin, Clara (born 1856)—One of the oldest members of the Social-Democratic movement in Germany; prominent in the international labour movement. During the war, a revolutionary internationalist; belonged to the Luxemburg-Liebknecht group. Secretary of the International Bureau of Socialist women. One of the organisers of the International Conference of Socialist Women at Berne, March, 1915. As an editor of *Gleichheit* (*Equality*), fought against the social-chauvinist majority of the party. Later joined the Communist union "Spartacus," and entered the German Communist Party; member of the Central Committee of the party. At the Third Congress of the Communist International was elected to the Executive Committee.—53, 208, 212, 248.

DOCUMENTS

I

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS AT STUTTGART

THE Congress confirms the resolutions adopted by previous international congresses against militarism and imperialism and declares once more that the struggle against militarism cannot be separated from the Socialist class struggle in general.

Wars between capitalist states are, as a rule, the outcome of their competition on the world market, for each state seeks not only to secure its existing markets, but also to conquer new ones. In this, the subjugation of foreign peoples and countries plays a prominent role. These wars result furthermore from the incessant race for armaments by militarism, one of the chief instruments of bourgeois class rule and of the economic and political subjugation of the working class.

Wars are favoured by the national prejudices which are systematically cultivated among civilised peoples in the interest of the ruling classes for the purpose of distracting the proletarian masses from their own class tasks as well as from their duties of international solidarity.

Wars, therefore, are part of the very nature of capitalism; they will cease only when the capitalist system is abolished or when the enormous sacrifices in men and money, required by the advance in military technique, and the indignation called forth by armaments, drive the peoples to abolish this system.

For this reason, the proletariat, which contributes most of the soldiers and makes most of the material sacrifices, is a natural opponent of war, which contradicts its highest goal—the creation of an economic order on a Socialist basis which will bring about the solidarity of all peoples.

The Congress, therefore, considers it as the duty of the working class and particularly of its representatives in the parliaments to combat the naval and military armaments with all their might, characterising the class nature of bourgeois society and the motive for the maintenance of national antagonisms, and to refuse the means for these armaments. It is their duty to work for the education of the working-class youth in the spirit of the brotherhood of nations and of Socialism while developing their class consciousness.

The Congress sees in the democratic organisation of the army, in the substitution of the militia for the standing army, an essential guarantee that offensive wars will be rendered impossible and the overcoming of national antagonisms facilitated.

The International is not able to determine in rigid forms the anti-militarist actions of the working class which are naturally different in different countries and for different circumstances of time and place. But it is its duty to co-ordinate and increase to the utmost the efforts of the working class against war.

In fact, since the International Congress at Brussels,* the proletariat has employed the most diverse forms of action with increasing emphasis and success in its indefatigable struggles against militarism by refusing the means for naval and military armaments, and by its efforts to democratise the military organisation—all for the purpose of preventing the outbreak of wars or of putting a stop to them, as well as for utilising the convulsions of society caused by war for the emancipation of the working class.

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* August 16-23, 1891.—*Ed.*

This was evidenced especially by the agreement between the English and French trade unions following the Fashoda Affair * for the maintenance of peace and for the restoration of friendly relations between England and France; by the procedure of the Social-Democratic parties in the German and French parliaments during the Morocco crisis; ** the demonstrations arranged by the French and German Socialists for the same purpose; the concerted action of the Socialists of Austria and Italy, who met in Trieste in order to prevent a conflict between the two countries; furthermore, by the energetic intervention of the Socialist workers of Sweden in order to prevent an attack upon Norway; finally, the heroic, self-sacrificing struggle of the Socialist workers and peasants of Russia and Poland in order to oppose the war *** unleashed by tsarism, to put a stop to it, and to utilise the crisis of the country for the liberation of the working class.

All these efforts are evidence of the growing power of the proletariat and of its increasing ability to secure the maintenance of peace by resolute intervention. The action of the working class will be all the more successful the more that its spirit is prepared by a corresponding action and the labour parties of the various countries are spurred on and co-ordinated by the International.

The Congress is convinced that, under the pressure of the proletariat, by a serious use of arbitration in place of the miserable measures of the governments, the benefit of disarmament can be secured to all nations, making it possible to employ the enormous expenditures of money and energy, which are swallowed up by military armaments and wars, for cultural purposes.

If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the co-ordinating activity of the International Socialist Bureau, to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to the sharpening of the class struggle and the sharpening of the general political situation.

In case war should break out anyway, it is their duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilise the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule.

International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, August 18-24, 1907.
Vorwärts Publishers, Berlin, 1907, pp. 64-66.

II

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS AT BASLE

At its congresses at Stuttgart **** and Copenhagen,***** the International formulated for the proletariat of all countries these guiding principles for the struggle against war:

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* The controversy between England and France over spheres of influence in Egypt which threatened to provoke a war (July, 1898-March, 1899).—*Ed.*

** 1905-1906.—*Ed.*

*** The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905.—*Ed.*

**** 1907.—*Ed.*

***** 1910.—*Ed.*

If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the co-ordinating activity of the International Socialist Bureau, *to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider most effective*, which naturally vary according to the sharpening of the class struggle and the sharpening of the general political situation.

In case war should break out anyway, it is their duty *to intervene in favour of its speedy termination* and with all their powers to utilise the *economic and political crisis created by the war to arouse the people and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule.*

More than ever, recent events have imposed upon the proletariat the duty of devoting the utmost force and energy to planned and concerted action. On the one hand, the universal craze for armaments has aggravated the high cost of living, thereby intensifying class antagonisms, and creating in the working class an implacable spirit of revolt; the workers want to put a stop to this system of panic and waste. On the other hand, the incessantly recurring menace of war has a more and more inciting effect. The great European peoples are constantly on the point of being driven against one another, although these attempts against humanity and reason cannot be justified by even the slightest pretext of being in the interest of the people.

If the Balkan crisis. which has already caused such terrible disasters, should spread further, it would become the most frightful danger to civilisation and the proletariat. At the same time it would be the greatest outrage in all history because of the crying discrepancy between the immensity of the catastrophe and the insignificance of the interests involved.

It is with satisfaction that the Congress records the complete unanimity of the Socialist parties and of the trade unions of all countries in the war against war.

The proletarians of all countries have risen simultaneously in a struggle against imperialism; each section of the International has opposed the resistance of the proletariat to the government of its own country, and has mobilised the public opinion of its nation against all bellicose desires. Thus there resulted the grandiose co-operation of the workers of all countries which has already contributed a great deal towards saving the threatened peace of the world. The fear of the ruling classes of a proletarian revolution as a result of a world war has proved to be an essential guarantee of peace.

The Congress, therefore, calls upon the Social-Democratic parties to continue their action by every means that seems appropriate to them. In this concerted action it assigns to each Socialist party its particular task.

The Social-Democratic parties of the Balkan peninsula have a difficult task. The Great Powers of Europe, by the systematic frustration of all reforms, have contributed to the creation of unbearable economic, national and political conditions in Turkey which necessarily had to lead to revolt and war. Against the exploitation of these conditions in the interest of the dynasties and the bourgeois classes the Social-Democratic parties of the Balkans, with heroic courage, have raised the demand for a democratic federation. The Congress calls upon them to persevere in their admirable attitude; it expects that the Social-Democracy of the Balkans will do everything after the war to prevent the results of the Balkan War attained at the price of such terrible sacrifices from being misused for their own purposes by dynasties, by militarism, by the bourgeoisie of the Balkan states greedy for expansion. The Congress, however, calls upon the Socialists of the Balkans particularly to resist not only the renewal of the old enmities between Serbs, Bulgars, Rumanians and Greeks, but also every violation of the Balkan peoples now in the opposite camp, the Turks and the Albanians. It is the duty of the Socialists of the Balkans, therefore, to fight against every violation of the rights of these peoples and to proclaim the fraternity of all Balkan peoples, including the Albanians, the Turks and the Rumanians, against the unleashed national chauvinism.

It is the duty of the Social-Democratic parties of Austria, Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina to continue with all their power their effective action against an attack upon Serbia by the Danubian monarchy. It is their task to continue as in the past to oppose the plan of robbing Serbia of the results of the war by armed force, of transforming it into an Austrian colony, and of involving the peoples of Austria-Hungary proper and together with them all nations of Europe in the greatest dangers for the sake of dynastic interests. In the future the Social-Democratic parties of Austria-Hungary will also fight in order that those sections of the South-Slavic people ruled by the House of Hapsburg may obtain the right to govern themselves democratically within the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy proper.

The Social-Democratic parties of Austria-Hungary as well as the Socialists of Italy must pay special attention to the Albanian question. The Congress recognises the right of the Albanian people to autonomy; but it protests against Albania, under the pretext of autonomy, becoming the victim of Austro-Hungarian and Italian ambitions for domination. The Congress sees in this not only a peril for Albania itself, but, in a short time, a menace to the peace between Austria-Hungary and Italy. Albania can lead a truly independent life only as an autonomous member of a democratic Balkan federation. The Congress therefore calls upon the Social-Democrats of Austria-Hungary and Italy to combat every attempt of their governments to envelop Albania in their sphere of influence, and to continue their efforts to strengthen the peaceful relations between Austria-Hungary and Italy.

It is with great joy that the Congress greets the protest strikes of the Russian workers as a guarantee that the proletariat of Russia and of Poland is beginning to recover from the blows dealt it by the tsarist counter-revolution. The Congress sees in this the strongest guarantee against the criminal intrigues of tsarism, which, after having drowned in blood the peoples of its own country, after having betrayed the Balkan peoples themselves innumerable times and surrendered them to their enemies, now vacillates between the fear of the consequences that a war would have upon it and the fear of the pressure of a nationalist movement which it has itself created. However, when tsarism now tries to appear as the liberator of the Balkan nations, it is only to reconquer its hegemony in the Balkans in a bloody war under this hypocritical pretext. The Congress expects that the urban and rural proletariat of Russia, Finland and Poland, which is growing in strength, will destroy this web of lies, will oppose every belligerent venture of tsarism, will combat every design of tsarism whether upon Armenia or upon Constantinople, and will concentrate its whole force upon the renewal of the revolutionary struggle for emancipation from tsarism. For tsarism is the hope of all the reactionary powers of Europe, the most terrible enemy of the democracy of the peoples dominated by it; and the achievement of its destruction must be viewed as one of the foremost tasks of the entire International.

However, the most important task within the action of the International devolves upon the working class of Germany, France and England. At this moment, it is the task of the workers of these countries to demand of their governments that they refuse any support either to Austria-Hungary or

Russia, that they abstain from any intervention in the Balkan troubles and maintain absolute neutrality. A war between the three great leading civilised peoples on account of the Serbo-Austrian dispute over a port would be criminal insanity. The workers of Germany and France cannot concede that any obligation whatever to intervene in the Balkan conflict exists because of secret treaties.

However, on further development, should the military collapse of Turkey lead to the downfall of the Ottoman rule in Asia Minor, it would be the task of the Socialists of England, France and Germany to resist with all their power the policy of conquest in Asia Minor, which would inevitably lead in a straight line to war. The Congress views as the greatest danger to the peace of Europe the artificially cultivated hostility between Great Britain and the German Empire. The Congress therefore greets the efforts of the working class of both countries to bridge this hostility. It considers the best means for this purpose to be the conclusion of an accord between Germany and England concerning the limitation of naval armaments and the abolition of the right of naval booty. The Congress calls upon the Socialists of England and Germany to continue their agitation for such an accord.

The overcoming of the antagonism between Germany on the one hand, and France and England on the other, would eliminate the greatest danger to the peace of the world, shake the power of tsarism which exploits this antagonism, render an attack of Austria-Hungary upon Serbia impossible, and secure peace to the world. All the efforts of the International, therefore, are to be directed toward this goal.

The Congress records that the entire Socialist International is unanimous upon these principles of foreign policy. It calls upon the workers of all countries to oppose the power of the international solidarity of the proletariat to capitalist imperialism. It warns the ruling classes of all states not to increase by belligerent actions the misery of the masses brought on by the capitalist method of production. It emphatically demands peace. Let the governments remember that with the present condition of Europe and the mood of the working class, they cannot unleash a war without danger to themselves. Let them remember that the Franco-German War was followed by the revolutionary outbreak of the Commune, that the Russo-Japanese War set into motion the revolutionary energies of the peoples of the Russian Empire, that the competition in military and naval armaments gave the class conflicts in England and on the continent an unheard-of sharpness, and unleashed an enormous wave of strikes. It would be insanity for the governments not to realise that the very idea of the monstrosity of a world war would inevitably call forth the indignation and the revolt of the working class. The proletarians consider it a crime to fire at each other for the profits of the capitalists, the ambitions of dynasties, or the greater glory of secret diplomatic treaties.

If the governments cut off every possibility of normal progress, and thereby drive the proletariat to desperate steps, they themselves will have to bear the entire responsibility for the consequences of the crisis brought about by them.

The International will redouble its efforts in order to prevent this crisis; it will raise its protest with increasing emphasis and make its propaganda more and more energetic and comprehensive. The Congress therefore commissions the International Socialist Bureau to follow events with much greater attentiveness, and, no matter what may happen, to maintain and strengthen the bonds uniting the proletarian parties.

The proletariat is conscious of being at this moment the bearer of the entire future of mankind. The proletariat will exert all its energy to prevent the annihilation of the flower of all peoples, threatened by all the horrors of mass murder, starvation, and pestilence.

The Congress therefore appeals to you, proletarians and Socialists of all countries, to make your voices heard in this decisive hour! Proclaim your will in every form and in all places; raise your protest in the parliaments with all your force; unite in great mass demonstrations; use every means that the organisation and the strength of the proletariat place at your disposal! See to it that the governments are constantly kept aware of the vigilance and passionate will for peace on the part of the proletariat! To the capitalist world of exploitation and mass murder, oppose in this way the proletarian world of peace and fraternity of peoples!

Extraordinary International Socialist Congress at Basle, November 24-25, 1912. Vorwärts Publishers, Berlin, 1912, pp. 23-27.

III

RESOLUTION INTRODUCED BY THE DELEGATION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.-D.L.P. TO THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WOMEN'S CONFERENCE AT BERNE

THE present world war, which has caused so many calamities wherever it has been waged, has devastated and ruined Belgium and Galicia, and has destroyed thousands upon thousands of workers' lives, is an imperialist war, caused by the rivalry between the ruling classes of the several countries for the division of colonies and for predominance on the world markets, as well as by dynastic interests. It is the natural continuation of the policies of the capitalist class and of the governments of all countries, and, therefore, the question as to who was the first to strike the blow is of no interest whatsoever from the Socialist standpoint.

Not only does this war not to any extent serve the interests of the workers, but it serves as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes for the destruction of the international solidarity of the workers, and for the weakening of their movement and the class struggle within each country. In the same manner, the slogan "defence of the fatherland," which has been proclaimed by the bourgeoisie and endorsed by the opportunists, is nothing but a lure used by the bourgeoisie to persuade the proletariat to sacrifice their lives and blood for the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Taking all this into consideration, the extrarodinary International Socialist Women's Conference, referring to the Stuttgart resolution, which recommends that the economic and political crisis caused by war be taken advantage of to arouse the people so as to hasten the downfall of the capitalist order, to the Copenhagen resolution, which declares that it is the duty of Socialist Deputies to vote against war appropriations, and to the Basle resolution, which proclaims that the workers regard it as a crime to fire at each other, hereby declares that the representatives of the majority of the Socialist parties in the belligerent countries have been acting in utter disregard of those resolutions and have committed, yielding to the pressure of circumstances, a veritable betrayal of Socialism, for which they have substituted Nationalism. The Conference proclaims that the proletarians of all countries have no other enemy but their class enemy, which is the capitalist class.

The terrific sufferings which this war has caused have been arousing in all women, and especially in proletarian women, an ever-growing desire for peace. The Conference declares *war upon every imperialist war*, and at the same time states its belief that in order that this desire for peace may be transformed into *a conscious political force, it is essential that the women workers should clearly realise that the propertied classes strive for nothing else* than annexations, conquest, and domination, that in the epoch of imperialism wars are inevitable, and that imperialism threatens the whole world with an entire series of wars, unless *the proletariat finds sufficient strength in itself to put an end to the capitalist order, by a complete overthrow of capitalism.* If a workingwoman is anxious to shorten the period of sufferings which is connected with the epoch of imperialist wars, it is indispensable that her desire for peace turn *into revolt and into struggle for Socialism. It is only through the revolutionary movement of the masses, through the strengthening and intensifying of the Socialist struggle, that the workingwoman will attain her end in this struggle.* Her first duty is thus that of supporting the labour unions and Socialist organisations and of breaking the civil peace by fighting against war appropriations, against the participation in bourgeois cabinets, by supporting and encouraging the fraternising among soldiers in the trenches and on the battlefield, by setting up illegal organisations wherever the government has repealed the constitutional liberties, and, finally, by drawing the masses into participation in demonstrations and revolutionary movements.

The International Socialist Women's Conference appeals to the workingwomen of all countries to start this struggle forthwith, to organise it on an international scale, and to combine their action closely with that of those Socialists who, like Liebknecht, fight in all countries against nationalism and carry on a revolutionary Socialist struggle.

At the same time, the Conference reminds the workingwomen that in the most advanced countries of Europe the objective conditions for Socialist production are already ripe, that the entire movement is entering a new phase, that the present world war imposes upon them new and serious duties, that their movement may be the forerunner of a general action of the masses, which will give a new impulse to the entire Socialist movement and will bring nearer the hour of complete liberation. By assuming the initiative in the matter of organising demonstrations and revolutionary protests, the workingwomen, marching abreast with the proletariat as a whole, will be in a position to usher in the new era of proletarian struggle, during which the proletariat will attain Socialism in the more advanced countries, and a democratic republic in the more backward ones.

Berne, March 26-28, 1915.
Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 42, June 1, 1915.

IV

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT ZIMMERWALD

PROLETARIANS of Europe!

The war has lasted more than a year. Millions of corpses cover the battlefields. Millions of human beings have been crippled for the rest of their lives. *Europe is like a gigantic human slaughterhouse.* All civilisation, created by the labour of many generations, is doomed to destruction. The most savage barbarism is to-day celebrating its triumph over all that hitherto constituted the pride of mankind.

Irrespective of the truth as to the direct responsibility for the outbreak of the war, one thing is certain: *The war which has produced this chaos is the outcome of imperialism,* of the attempt, on the part of the capitalist classes of each nation, to foster their greed for profit by the exploitation of human labour and of the natural treasures of the entire globe.

Economically backward or politically weak nations are thereby subjugated by the Great Powers who, in this war, are seeking to remake the world map with blood and iron in accord with their exploiting interests. Thus, entire nations and countries like Belgium, Poland, the Balkan states, and Armenia are threatened with the fate of being torn asunder, annexed as a whole or in part as booty in the game of compensations.

In the course of the war, its driving forces are revealed in all their vileness. Shred after shred falls the veil with which the meaning of this world catastrophe was hidden from the consciousness of the peoples. The capitalists of all countries, who are coining the red gold of war-profits out of the blood shed by the people, assert that the war is for defence of the fatherland, for democracy, and the liberation of oppressed nations! They lie. *In actual reality, they are burying the freedom of their own people together with the independence of the other nations in the places of devastation.* New fetters, new chains, new burdens are arising, and it is the proletariat of all countries, of the victorious as well as of the conquered countries, that will have to bear them. Improvement in welfare was proclaimed at the outbreak of the war—want and privation, unemployment and high prices, undernourishment and epidemics are the actual results. *The burdens of war will consume the best energies of the peoples for decades,* endanger the achievements of social reform, and hinder every step forward.

Cultural devastation, economic decline, political reaction—these are the blessings of this horrible conflict of nations.

Thus the war reveals the *naked figure of modern capitalism* which has become irreconcilable not only with the interests of the labouring masses, not only with the requirements of historical development, but also with the elementary conditions of human intercourse.

The ruling powers of capitalist society who held the fate of the nations in their hands, the monarchic as well as the republican governments, the secret diplomacy, the mighty business organisations, the bourgeois parties, the capitalist press, the Church—all these bear the full weight of responsibility for this war which arose out of the social order fostering them and protected by them, and which is being waged for their interests.

Workers!

Exploited, disfranchised, scorned, they called you brothers and comrades at the outbreak of the war when you were to be led to the slaughter, to death. And now that militarism has crippled you, mutilated you, degraded and annihilated you, the rulers demand that you surrender your interests, your aims, your ideals—in a word, *servile subordination to civil peace.* They rob you of the possibility of expressing your views, your feelings, your pains; they prohibit you from raising your demands and defending them. The press gagged, political rights and liberties trod upon—this is the way the *military dictatorship* rules to-day with an iron hand.

This situation which threatens the entire future of Europe and of humanity cannot and must not be confronted by us any longer without action. The

Socialist proletariat has waged a struggle against militarism for decades. With growing concern, its representatives at their national and international congresses occupied themselves with the ever more menacing danger of war growing out of imperialism. At *Stuttgart*, at *Copenhagen*, at *Basle*, the international Socialist congresses have indicated the course which the proletariat must follow.

Since the beginning of the war, Socialist parties and labour organisations of various countries that helped to determine this course have disregarded the obligations following from this. Their representatives have called upon the working class to *give up the class struggle*, the only possible and effective method of proletarian emancipation. They have *granted credits* to the ruling classes for waging the war; they have placed themselves at the disposal of the governments for the most diverse services; through their press and their messengers, they have tried to win the *neutrals* for the government policies of their countries; they have delivered up to their governments *Socialist Ministers* as hostages for the preservation of civil peace, and *thereby they have assumed the responsibility before the working class, before its present and its future, for this war, for its aims and its methods.* And just as the individual parties, so the highest of the appointed representative bodies of the Socialists of all countries, the *International Socialist Bureau*, has failed them.

These facts are equally responsible for the fact that the international working class, which did not succumb to the national panic of the first war period, or which freed itself from it, has still, in the second year of the slaughter of peoples, found no ways and means of taking up an energetic struggle for peace simultaneously in all countries.

In this unbearable situation, we, the representatives of the Socialist parties, trade unions and their minorities, we Germans, French, Italians, Russians, Poles, Letts, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch and Swiss, we who stand not on the ground of national solidarity with the exploiting class, but on the ground of the international solidarity of the proletariat and of the class struggle, have assembled to re-tie the torn threads of international relations and to call upon the working class to recover itself and to fight for peace.

This struggle is the struggle for freedom, for the *reconciliation* of peoples, for *Socialism.* It is necessary to take up this struggle for peace, for a peace without annexations or war indemnities. *Such a peace, however, is only possible if every thought of violating the rights and liberties of nations is condemned.* Neither the occupation of entire countries nor of separate parts of countries must lead to their violent annexation. *No annexation*, whether open or concealed, and *no forcible economic attachment* made still more unbearable by political disfranchisement. *The right of self-determination of nations must be the indestructible principle in the system of national relationships of peoples.*

Proletarians!

Since the outbreak of the war, you have placed your energy, your courage, your endurance at the service of the ruling classes. Now you must stand up for your own cause, for the sacred aims of Socialism, for the emancipation of the oppressed nations as well as of the enslaved classes, by means of the irreconcilable proletarian class struggle.

It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the belligerent countries to take up this struggle with full force; it is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the neutral states to support their brothers in this struggle against bloody barbarism with every effective means. Never in world history was *there a more urgent, a more sublime task, the fulfilment of which should be our common labour. No sacrifice is too great, no burden too heavy in order to achieve this goal: peace among the peoples.*

Working men and working women! Mothers and fathers! Widows and orphans! Wounded and crippled! We call to all of you who are suffering from the war and because of the war: Beyond all borders, beyond the reeking battlefields, beyond the devastated cities and villages—

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Zimmerwald, September, 1915.
In the name of the International Socialist Conference:
For the German delegation: Georg Ledebour, Adolf Hoffmann.
For the French delegation: A. Bourderon, A. Merrheim.
For the Italian delegation: G. E. Modigliani, Constantino Lazzari.
For the Russian delegation: N. Lenin, Paul Axelrod, M. Bobrov.
For the Polish delegation: St. Lapinski, A. Warski, Cz. Hanecki.
For the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation: In the name of the Rumanian delegation: C. Rakovsky; *In the name of the Bulgarian delegation:* Wassil Kolarov.
For the Swedish and Norwegian delegation: Z. Höglund, Ture Nerman.
For the Dutch delegation: H. Roland-Holst.
For the Swiss delegation: Robert Grimm, Charles Naine.

International Socialist Commission at Berne, Bulletin No. 1, pp. 2-3, September 21, 1915.

V

DECLARATION OF SYMPATHY FOR THE WAR VICTIMS AND THE PERSECUTED, ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT ZIMMERWALD

THE International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald sends its expression of profoundest sympathy to the countless victims of the war, to the Polish and Belgian people, to the persecuted Jewish and Armenian peoples, to the millions of human beings who are tormented by boundless sufferings and who have had to bear untold horrors.

The Conference honours the memory of the great Socialist *Jean Jaurès*, the first victim of the war who fell as a martyr and fighter in the struggle against chauvinism and for peace. It honours the memory of the Socialist fighters Tutzowicz and Catanesi, who lost their young lives on the battlefield.

The Conference sends the expression of its profound and fraternal sympathy to the *Duma Deputies exiled to Siberia* who are continuing the glorious revolutionary tradition of Russia, to *Liebknecht* and *Monatte*, fettered by capitalism, both of whom have taken up the struggle against the civil peace policy of the workers in their respective countries, to Comrades *Luxemburg* and *Clara Zetkin* who have been imprisoned for their Socialist convictions, and to all comrades, men and women, who have been persecuted or arrested because they have waged a struggle against war.

The Conference solemnly vows to honour the living and dead by following the example of these brave fighters and by indefatigably carrying out the task of awakening the revolutionary spirit in the masses of the international proletariat, and uniting them in the struggle against the fratricidal war and against capitalist society.

September, 1915.
International Socialist Commission at Berne, Bulletin No. 1, p. 8, September 21, 1915.

VI

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE LEFT WING DELEGATES AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT ZIMMERWALD

THE World War, which has been devastating Europe for the last year, is an *imperialist war* waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, export markets, sources of raw material, spheres of capital investment, etc. It is a product of capitalist development which connects the entire world in a world economy but at the same time permits the existence of national state capitalist groups with opposing interests.

If the bourgeoisie and the governments seek to conceal this character of the World War by asserting that it is a question of a forced struggle for *national independence*, it is only to mislead the *proletariat*, since the war is being waged for the oppression of foreign peoples and countries. Equally untruthful are the legends concerning the defence of democracy in this war, since imperialism signifies the most unscrupulous domination of big capital and political reaction.

Imperialism can only be overcome by overcoming the contradictions which produce it, that is, by the *Socialist organisation* of the advanced capitalist countries for which the objective conditions are already ripe.

At the outbreak of the war, the majority of the labour leaders had not raised this only possible slogan in opposition to imperialism. Prejudiced by nationalism, rotten with opportunism, *at the beginning of the World War they betrayed the proletariat to imperialism, and gave up the principles of Socialism and thereby the real struggle for the everyday interests of the proletariat.*

Social-patriotism and social-imperialism, the standpoint of the openly patriotic majority of the formerly Social-Democratic leaders *in Germany*, as well as the opposition-mannered centre of the party around Kautsky, and to which *in France and Austria* the majority, *in England and Russia* a part of the leaders (Hyndman, the Fabians, the Trade-Unionists, Plekhanov, Rubanovich, the *Nasha Zarya* group) confess, is a more dangerous enemy to the proletariat than the bourgeois apostles of imperialism, since, misusing the banner of Socialism, it can mislead the unenlightened workers. *The ruthless struggle against social-imperialism constitutes the first condition for the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletariat and the reconstruction of the International.*

It is the task of the Socialist parties as well as of the Socialist opposition in the now social-imperialist parties, to call and lead the labouring masses to the *revolutionary struggle* against the capitalist governments for the conquest of political power for the Socialist organisation of society.

Without giving up the struggle for every foot of ground within the framework of capitalism, for every reform strengthening the proletariat, without renouncing any means of organisation and agitation, the revolutionary Social-Democrats, on the contrary, must utilise all the struggles, all the reforms demanded by our minimum programme for the purpose of sharpening this *war crisis* as well as every social and political crisis of capitalism, of extending them to an attack upon its very foundations. By waging this struggle *under the slogan of Socialism* it will render the labouring masses immune to the slogans of the oppression of one people by another as expressed in the maintenance of the domination of one nation over another, in the cry for new annexations; it will render them deaf to the temptations of national solidarity which has led the proletarians to the battlefields.

The signal for this struggle is the struggle against the World War, for the speedy termination of the slaughter of nations. This struggle demands the refusal of war credits, quitting the cabinets, the denunciation of the capitalist, anti-Socialist character of the war from the tribunes of the parliaments, in the columns of the legal, and where necessary illegal, press, the sharpest struggle against social-patriotism, and the utilisation of every movement of the people caused by the results of the war (misery, great losses, etc.) for the organisation of street demonstrations against the governments, propaganda of international solidarity in the trenches, the encouragement of economic strikes, the effort to transform them into political strikes under favourable conditions. Civil war, not civil peace—that is the slogan!

As against all illusions that it is possible to bring about the basis of a lasting peace, the beginning of disarmament, by any decisions of diplomats and the governments, the revolutionary Social-Democrats must repeatedly tell the masses of the people that only the social revolution can bring about a lasting peace and the emancipation of mankind.

September 5-8, 1915.

International Socialist Commission at Berne, Bulletin No. 2, p. 14, November 27, 1915.

Note: This draft resolution was signed by two representatives of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. (Zinoviev and Lenin), a representative of the Opposition of the Polish Social-Democracy (Radek), a representative of the Latvian province (Winter), a representative each of the Left Social-Democrats of Sweden (Höglund) and Norway (Nerman), a Swiss delegate (Platten), and a German delegate. On the question of submitting the draft to the commission, 12 delegates voted for (the eight mentioned above, two Socialists-Revolutionists, Trotsky and Roland-Holst) and 19 against.

Sotsial-Demokrat, Nos. 45-46, October 11, 1915.

VII

DRAFT OF MANIFESTO INTRODUCED BY THE LEFT WING DELEGATES AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT ZIMMERWALD

(Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P., Polish opposition, Social-Democracy of the Latvian province, a Swedish delegate, a Norwegian delegate, a German delegate, and a Swiss delegate.)

PROLETARIANS of Europe!

The war has now lasted for more than a year. The battlefields are strewn with millions of dead, millions have been crippled and doomed to remain a burden to themselves and to others for the rest of their lives. The war has caused terrific devastations, it will result in an unheard-of increase in taxes.

The capitalists of all countries, who at the price of proletarian blood have been reaping enormous profits during the war, demand of the masses that they strain all their efforts and hold out to the end. They say: "The war is necessary for the defence of the fatherland, it is waged in the interests of democracy." They lie! In not a single country did the capitalists start the war because the independence of their country was threatened, or because they wanted to free an oppressed people. They have led the masses to slaughter because they want to oppress and to exploit other peoples. They were unable to agree between themselves as to how to divide the peoples of Asia and Africa that were still independent; they were lying in ambush for each other, watching for a chance to snatch from each other the spoils previously seized.

It is not for their own freedom, nor for the freedom of other peoples, that the masses are bleeding in all parts of the immense slaughterhouse called Europe. This war will bring the proletariat of Europe and the peoples of Asia and Africa new burdens and new chains.

There is, therefore, no reason why this fratricidal war should be waged to the end, to the last drop of blood; on the contrary, every effort must be strained to put an end to it.

The time for this has already come. What you must demand first, is that your Socialist Deputies, those whom you delegated to Parliament to fight against capitalism, against militarism, against the exploitation of the people, do their duty. All of them, with the exception of the Russian, Serbian, and Italian comrades, and with the exception of Comrades Liebknecht and Rühle, have trampled upon that duty; they have either supported the bourgeoisie in their rapacious war, or else have vacillated and have shirked responsibility. You must demand that they either resign from their seats, or that they use the platform of parliament to make clear to the people the nature of the present war, and that outside of parliament they help the working class to resume its struggle. Your first demand must be this: *refusal of all war credits, withdrawal from the cabinets in France, Belgium, and England.*

But that is not all! The Deputies cannot save you from that rabid beast, the World War, that subsists on your blood. *You must act yourselves.* You must make use of all your organisations, of your entire press, to rouse the broadest masses groaning under the burden of the war to revolt against it. You must go out *into the streets* and throw into the face of the ruling classes your rallying cry: "*Enough of slaughter!*" Let the ruling classes remain deaf to it, the discontented masses will hear it, and they will join you and take a part in the struggle.

The demand must immediately and energetically be made that the war be stopped; a loud protest must be raised against the exploitation of one people by another, against the division of any people among several states. All this will take place, if any capitalist government comes out victorious and is able to dictate the terms of peace to the others. If we allow the capitalists to conclude peace in the same manner as they started the war, without the participation of the masses, the new conquests will not only strengthen reaction and arbitrary police rule in the victorious country, but they will sow the seeds of new wars, even more horrible.

The overthrow of the capitalist governments—this is the object which the working class in all belligerent countries must set themselves, because only then will an end be put to the exploitation of one people by another, an end put to wars, when capital has been deprived of the power of disposing of the life and death of peoples. Only peoples who shall be freed of want and misery, of the rule of capital, will be in a position to settle their mutual relations, not by war, but by friendly agreement.

Great is the goal we set ourselves, great are the efforts that will be required to attain it, great will be the sacrifices before it is attained. Long will be the road to victory. Methods of peaceful pressure will be insufficient to overcome the enemy. But it is only when you are ready to make for your own liberation, in the struggle against capital, part of those innumerable sacrifices that you have been making on the battlefield for the interests of capital, only then will you be able to put an end to the war, to lay a firm foundation for a lasting peace, which will transform you from slaves of capital into free men.

But if the deceitful phrases of the bourgeoisie and of the Socialist parties that support it succeed in restraining you from energetic struggle, and if you confine yourselves to pious wishes because you are unwilling to proceed to an attack and to sacrifice your bodies and souls for the great cause, then capital will go on shedding your blood and wasting your belongings at its own discretion. In all countries the number of those who think as we do grows daily. It is by their order that we have assembled, representatives of various countries, to address to you this call to battle. We shall carry on this struggle with mutual support, as there are no interests to divide us. It is essential that the revolutionary workers of each country deem it their duty and honourable distinction to serve as a model for others, a model of energy and self-sacrifice. Not timid expectation as to whither the struggle of others will lead, but struggle in the first ranks—that is the road that leads to the formation of a powerful International which will put an end to war and capitalism.

September 5-8, 1915.
Sotsial-Demokrat, Nos. 45-46, October 11, 1915.

VIII

TWO DECLARATIONS MADE AT THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT ZIMMERWALD

I

THE undersigned declare as follows:

The manifesto adopted by the Conference does not give us complete satisfaction. It contains no pronouncement on either open opportunism, or opportunism that is hiding under radical phraseology,—the opportunism which is not only the chief cause of the collapse of the International, but which strives to perpetuate that collapse. The manifesto contains no clear pronouncement as to the methods of fighting against the war.

We shall continue, as we have done heretofore, to advocate in the Socialist press and at the meetings of the International, a clear-cut Marxian position in regard to the tasks with which the epoch of imperialism has confronted the proletariat.

We vote for the manifesto because we regard it as a call to struggle, and in this struggle we are anxious to march side by side with the other sections of the International.

We request that our present declaration be included in the official proceedings.

(Signed): N. LENIN
G. ZINOVIEV
RADEK
NERMAN
HÖGLUND
WINTER

II

The other declaration, which was signed, in addition to the group that had introduced the resolution of the Left, by Roland-Holst and Trotsky, read as follows:

"Inasmuch as the adoption of our amendment (to the manifesto) demanding the vote against war appropriations might in a way endanger the success of the Conference, we do, under protest, withdraw our amendment and accept Ledebour's statement in the commission to the effect that the manifesto contains all that is implied in our proposition."

It may be added that Ledebour, as an ultimatum, demanded the rejection of the amendment, refusing to sign the manifesto otherwise.

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 47, October 13, 1915.

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CALENDAR OF EVENTS

JUNE, 1914—DECEMBER, 1915

1914

June 28. Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria at Sarajevo (Bosnia), the immediate cause of the World War.

July 14-18. President Poincaré of France arrives in St. Petersburg for the purpose of preparing joint action of France and Russia against Germany.

July 14-16. The Eleventh Convention of the French Socialist Party meets and pronounces in favour of a general strike for the prevention of war.

July 19-25. Strike of 300,000 factory workers in St. Petersburg. Barricades and street riots. Strike movement in Baku and other industrial cities in Russia. All labour newspapers in St. Petersburg are suppressed.

July 23. Austria issues an ultimatum to Serbia.

July 26. Mobilisation in Serbia.

July 25-31. The St. Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks issues a declaration "To All Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers" on the threatening war danger.

July 28. Austria declares war on Serbia.

July 29. Last meeting of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels. The Bureau decides to issue an appeal to the workers calling upon them to intensify the demonstrations for peace. An international mass meeting against the war is held at Brussels, with the participation of the leaders of the Socialist parties.

July 29-30. The press publishes the manifesto of the Socialist parties and the most important labour organisations of Germany, France, England, Italy, Belgium, and other countries, appealing to the proletariat to demonstrate its will for peace.

July 30-31. Protest meetings and demonstrations of the proletariat against the war in all important industrial cities of Europe.

July 31. Jaurès is assassinated in Paris. Mobilisation in Russia. Germany's ultimatum to Russia demanding the demobilisation of its army within 12 hours.

August 1. Negotiations in Paris between H. Müller, member of the Presidium of the German Social-Democratic Party, and the leaders of the French Socialist Party on joint action against the war.

August 1. Germany declares war on Russia. Mobilisation in France.

August 2. Germany's ultimatum to Belgium. The General Council of the Belgian Labour Party directs the Socialist members of Parliament to vote for "appropriations required for mobilisation." Manifesto of Nicholas II on the war. Decree of the Tsar summoning the Duma and the Imperial Council for August 8. Italy's declaration of neutrality.

August 3. Germany declares war on France. The German Social-Democratic Reichstag group meets to discuss the matter of war appropriations. A majority of 78 against 14 decides in favour of voting for the appropriations.

August 4. Germany declares war on Belgium. England declares war on Germany. The German Social-Democrats in the Reichstag vote for war appropriations. Haase, in behalf of the Social-Democratic group, reads a chauvinist declaration. *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Social-Democratic

Party, publishes chauvinist articles. Session of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. The Socialist group makes a declaration promising support to the government; Vandervelde enters the cabinet. Session of the French Chamber of Deputies; the war bills introduced by the government and the war approriations are voted unanimously. *L'Humanité*, central organ of the French Socialist Party, and *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, organ of the Syndicalists, become pronouncedly chauvinist.

August 5. A joint conference of the Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, the General Federation of Labour, the Union of Railwaymen, and the Federation of Marine and Port Workers, passes resolutions directed against the imperialist war and calling upon the proletariat to manifest its will for peace and for the preservation of Italy's neutrality in the war.

August 6. Austria-Hungary declares war on Russia. The Federal Council of Switzerland declares the neutrality of that country.

August 8. Session of the Duma. Khaustov, Social-Democratic Deputy, reads a joint declaration of the two Social-Democratic groups at the Duma (the Menshevik "seven" and the Bolshevik "five").

August 11. France and England declare war on Austria-Hungary.

August 12. Organisation of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union is started in Moscow.

August 13. The Executive Committee of the British Socialist Party issues a chauvinist manifesto, which is published in *Justice*, central organ of the party.

August 13. The National Council of the Independent Labour Party publishes a manifesto against the war in the *Labour Leader*, weekly organ of the party.

Middle of August. The St. Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks issues anti-war leaflets.

August 14. Manifesto of the French Socialist Party explaining the joining of the government of "National Defence" by Guesde (as Minister without portfolio) and Sembat (as Minister of Public Works). The Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army issues a proclamation to the Poles with a promise of autonomy. Japan's ultimatum to Germany, demanding the evacuation of Kiao-chow, China.

August 21. Russian volunteers, Social-Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionists, publish a declaration in the French press. The organisation of the All-Russian Union of Cities is started in Moscow.

August 23. Japan declares war on Germany.

End of August. The St. Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks issues a proclamation against the war.

September 1. Negotiations between Südekum, German Social-Democrat, and the Presidium of the Italian Socialist Party, on Südekum's mission of drawing Italy into the war on Germany's side.

Beginning of September. First leaflets against the war issued by local organisations of the R.S.-D.L.P. in the Caucasus, in Poland, Lithuania, etc.

September 6. Agreement between England, France, and Russia, pledging themselves not to conclude a separate peace with the Central Powers.

September 9. Japan joins the agreement barring separate peace.

September 13. First issue of *Nash Golos* [*Our Voice*] (beginning with sixth issue, title changed to *Golos*), organ of the internationalist wing of the Mensheviks (Martov, Trotsky, and others), appears in Paris.

September 14. Mehring protests in the *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* against the distortion by German Social-Democratic papers of Engels' views on Social-Democratic tactics in war time.

September 21. The Central Committee of the Italian Socialist Party declares for the strict maintenance of Italy's neutrality.

September 27. Italo-Swiss Socialist Conference at Lugano (Switzerland). The *Vorwärts*, central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, suspended for printing the article "Deutschland und das Ausland."

Second half of September. Vandervelde's telegram to the Russian Socialists appealing for their active participation in the struggle against "Prussian militarism."

October 1. *Vorwärts* resumes publication.

Early October. American Socialist Party addresses appeal to the Socialists of all countries, urging the calling of an international peace conference.

October 13-14. Meeting of the Bolshevik Deputies of the Duma near Mustamyaki station, Finland; reply to Vandervelde's telegram drafted.

October 27. The *Bremer Bürger-Zeitung* prints Karl Liebknecht's correction to the *Vorwärts* report of the Reichstag session of October 22 and of the behaviour of the Social-Democratic group.

October 30. Russia declares war on Turkey. The *Berner Tagwacht* prints a joint protest statement by Liebknecht, Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, and Clara Zetkin, against the statements of Südekum and R. Fischer in the Social-Democratic press of Sweden, Italy, and Switzerland.

October 31. The *Volksrecht*, Swiss Social-Democratic paper, prints a collective statement by Liebknecht, Mehring, Luxemburg, and Zetkin, on their disagreement with the official position of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party.

November 1. *Sotsial-Demokrat*, central organ of the R.S.-D.L.P. (Bolsheviks), resumes publication in Switzerland, with Lenin and Zinoviev as editors. No. 33 of the paper is issued, containing the manifesto of the Central Committee.

November 15. The first issue of *Mysl* [*Thought*], under the direction of Y. Gardenin (V. Chernov), appears in Paris.

November 16-17. Conference of Bolsheviks at Ozerki, near Petrograd. Arrest of the members of the Conference, including the Bolshevik Duma group (Petrovsky, Shagov, Muranov, Samoilov, Badayev), L. Kamenev, representative of the Central Committee, and others.

November 23. A. Shlyapnikov (Belenin) and Y. Larin appear at the convention of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party, with greetings and declarations, as representatives, respectively, of the Bolshevik Central Committee and the Menshevik Organisation Committee.

November 29. The German Social-Democratic Reichstag group decides once more to vote for war appropriations.

December 2. Second session of the German Reichstag since the outbreak of the war. New five billion mark appropriation for war purposes. Liebknecht, against the decision of the Social-Democratic group, makes a statement at the Reichstag session against appropriations for the imperialist war.

December 3. Anti-British uprising in South Africa.

December 12. England declares a protectorate over Egypt.

December 16. Martov delivers a lecture in Berne on "The War and the Crisis of Socialism."

December 23. First issue of *Sibirsky Zhurnal* [*Siberian Journal*], anti-defensist paper, appears in Irkutsk, Siberia.

December 31. The *Labour Leader*, weekly of the English Independent Labour Party, publishes letters of Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring, and Zetkin, exposing the situation within the German Social-Democratic Party.

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January 10. Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks issues letter announcing the calling of a convention of foreign sections at Berne, on February 27.

January 14. First issue of *Sibirskoye Obozreniye* [*Siberian Review*], anti-defensist magazine, appears in Irkutsk, Siberia.

January 17-18. Socialist Conference of neutral countries (Sweden, Norway, Holland, and Denmark) held at Copenhagen.

January 18. The paper *Golos* is suppressed by the French censorship.

January 24. Decree of the Tsar summoning the Duma and the Imperial Council for February 9.

January 29. First issue of *Nashe Slovo* appears in Paris, in place of the *Golos.* First issue of *Nashe Dyelo,* social-chauvinist magazine, appears in Petrograd.

February 9. Second war session of the Duma opens.

February 12. The Free-Economic Society of Petrograd is suspended by the authorities for the duration of the war.

February 14. London Conference of Socialists of Entente countries meets, on call issued by the British section of the Second International, at Vandervelde's initiative. M. Litvinov addresses the Conference in behalf of the Bolshevik Central Committee.

February 18. Germany declares a blockade of England (submarine war). Rosa Luxemburg is arrested.

February 22. First issue of *Izvestia* of the Foreign Secretariat of the Menshevik Organisation Committee appears in Geneva.

First half of February. The Petrograd Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. issues leaflet with a call to a political strike in connection with the impending trial of the Bolshevik members of the Duma. Appearance of first issue of *Proletarsky Golos* [*Proletarian Voice*], illegal organ of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P.

February 23-25. Trial and conviction by the Petrograd Court of the five Bolshevik members of the Duma and other members of the Conference of November 17. Protest meeting in Berne against the trial of the Bolshevik Duma members. The editors of *Sotsial-Demokrat* address a special letter to the meeting.

February 27-March 4. Conference of the foreign sections of the Bolsheviks held at Berne.

March 5. Publication of *Voprosy Strakhovaniya* [*Insurance Problems*], legal Bolshevik magazine, is resumed in Petrograd, after a long interruption.

March 8. The Social-Democratic Reichstag group decides by a majority of 77 against 23 to vote for the ten billion mark war budget.

March 10. Karl Liebknecht and Otto Rühle vote against the war appropriations at the Reichstag session and are expelled from the Social-Democratic Reichstag group.

March 21. The first issue of *Zhizn,* Socialist-Revolutionist paper, appears in Paris, in place of *Mysl,* suppressed on March 3.

March 26-27. International Conference of Socialist Women held at Berne. Numerous arrests in Petrograd and other cities; *Proletarsky Golos,* illegal organ of the Petrograd Bolshevik Committee, discovered by the police.

April 5-6. The Conference of the Independent Labour Party at Norwich adopts by an overwhelming majority resolutions condemning the participation of the party in the propaganda for the army recruiting campaign and censuring the members of the party who have made speeches in favour of the war. The magazine *Internationale*, founded by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, appears and is suppressed. The pamphlet *Die Krise der deutschen Sozial-Demokratie* [*The Crisis of German Social-Democracy*], by "Junius" (Rosa Luxemburg), appears in Germany.

April 17. International Conference of Socialist Youth held at Berne; delegates of the Bolshevik Central Committee address the Conference.

April 30. Conference of Socialists of Germany and Austria held at Vienna.

May 4. Italy withdraws from the Triple Alliance. Second war budget voted in England.

May 22-23. A workers' group, led by Bolsheviks, takes part in the proceedings of the Conference on Alcoholism, held at Moscow.

May 23. Italy declares war on Germany and Austria-Hungary.

May 31. The *Berner Tagwacht* prints the appeal of German Left Social-Democrats, written by Karl Liebknecht and entitled "Der Hauptfeind steht im eigenen Land." The retreat of the Russian armies from Galicia begins.

June 1. An announcement of the publication of the *Kommunist*, a Bolshevik magazine, is issued in Switzerland.

June 9. Open letter to the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Reichstag group, written by Liebknecht and Duncker and signed by 1,000 party workers, protesting against the policy of the majority of the party during the war.

June 9-10. Convention of Russian manufacturers at Petrograd, to discuss the utilisation of Russian industry for war needs.

June 10-11. Mobs attack German firms in Moscow, as a result of the systematic campaign of the yellow press against "German infiltration."

June 11. Resolutions are passed by the city councils of Moscow and Petrograd, followed by a number of other municipalities, in favour of a special session of the Duma.

June 12. A joint meeting of the Main Committees of the Unions of Cities and of Zemstvos decides to take immediately a direct part in the organisation of the army supply service.

June 14. The Foreign Secretariat of the Menshevik Organisation Committee issues a statement on its disagreements with the political line of the paper *Nashe Slovo.*

June 18. A conference of city mayors and of representatives of provincial Zemstvos addresses to the government a request for the admission of civic organisations in Russia to participation in the work for the defence of the country. Workers are fired on in Kostroma during a strike caused by the high cost of living.

June 19-21. Conference of the Constitutional-Democratic Party at Petrograd.

June 20. Manifesto issued under the signatures of Kautsky, Haase, and Bernstein, with a protest against annexations and an appeal for unity of the Social-Democratic Party.

June 23. A meeting of the party leaders in the Duma declares in favour of a session of the Duma being called at the earliest moment.

June 24. The Paris section of the Bolsheviks greets the Left Wing of the editorial board of *Nashe Slovo.*

June 26. War Minister Sukhomlinov resigns.

July 3. The Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Reichstag group come out in the press against the Left opposition.

July 11. Preliminary Conference at Berne of Socialists opposed to the slogan of civil peace and of the defence of a bourgeois fatherland. Conference of the various Narodnik groups, Socialists-Revolutionists, People's Socialists, and Trudoviks, held at Petrograd, passes chauvinist resolutions on the defence of the fatherland and expresses its hope for the earliest restoration of international Socialist organisations.

July 24-26. A workers' group takes part in the proceedings of the Conference on the High Cost of Living, called at Moscow by the All-Russian Union of Cities.

August 1. Session of the Duma opens. Kerensky and Chkheidze address the Duma with statements in favour of peace without annexations or contributions.

August 2. Russian troops evacuate Warsaw and continue retreat. The Foreign Secretariat of the Menshevik Organisation Committee issues a leaflet entitled *Letter to the Comrades in Russia; the Problems Confronting the Russian Proletariat,* and containing a statement of their platform.

August 10. A Supreme Investigation Commission is appointed in Russia to inquire into the mismanagement responsible for the failures at the front.

August 15. The French Chamber of Deputies adopts in final reading the Dalbierz bill on the militarisation of labour. Italy declares war on Turkey.

August 16. Manifesto of bourgeois organisations in England advocating compulsory military service and militarisation of labour.

August 21. First issue of *Nasha Gazeta* [*Our Gazette*], legal Bolshevik paper, appears in Saratov.

August 22. The Progressive Bloc is formed in the Duma and adopts ten fundamental principles of legislation, which are later to become the basis of its programme.

August 27. The regulations to govern the Committees of War Industry in Russia are confirmed. Strike movement caused by the high cost of living in the Moscow industrial districts (Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyevo, etc.).

September 1. The Moscow City Council passes a resolution demanding the appointment of a "government of public confidence." The first issue of *Die Jugendinternationale* appears in Berne.

September 4. Special conference for the consideration and co-ordination of measures for the defence of the country is opened at Petrograd, in the Winter Palace, Nicholas II presiding.

September 5. Letter of A. Strukov, President of the Council of United Nobility, to Premier Goryemykin, advocating the dissolution of the Duma.

September 5-8. International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald.

September 5-10. Conference of Defensist groups, Social-Democrats and Socialists-Revolutionists, at Geneva.

September 6. Congress of British Trade Unions at Bristol. Address by Lloyd George. Resolutions passed by overwhelming majority in favour of supporting the government for the effective prosecution of the war.

September 8. Nicholas II assumes supreme command of the Russian armies.

September 16. The Duma session is closed by imperial decree.

September 19. Meeting of the Federal Council of the French Socialist Party; an opposition appears demanding modification of the party policies.

September 20. Conventions of the All-Russian Unions of Cities and of Zemstvos.

September 28. Committee is organised in France, with Merrheim as Secretary, for the restoration of international relations between Socialist organisations.

October 1. First issue of *Prizyv* [*Call*], joint organ of Social-Democratic and Socialist-Revolutionist chauvinists, appears in Paris.

October 3. First International Youth Day.

October 10. First meeting of delegates from factories in Petrograd for the election of delegates to the Central Committee and Petrograd Committee of War Industry. A majority of 95 against 80 passes the resolution of the Petrograd Bolshevik Committee in favour of boycotting the "defensist organisations of the liberal industrial bourgeoisie."

October 14. Bulgaria declares war on Serbia.

October 16. England, Russia, France, and Italy declare war on Bulgaria.

October 20. Plekhanov, Alexinsky, and other Russian social-chauvinists issue appeal for the defence of the fatherland.

October 28. The first issue of *Rabocheye Utro* [*Workers' Morning*], organ of the Liquidators, appears in Petrograd.

October 29. Election to the Moscow Committee of War Industry; a considerable portion of metal workers boycott the elections.

November 3. Briand Cabinet is formed in France.

November 20. Italy adheres to the London agreement barring separate peace.

December 1. Proclamation of the Petrograd Bolsheviks "To the Entire Proletariat of Petrograd," denouncing the treason of Gvozdev and others, who have entered the Committee of War Industry, and calling for the international solidarity of the proletariat.

December 4. Convention of organisations of the Right is held at Petrograd, as a counterpart to the declarations of the Progressive Bloc and of the Unions of Zemstvos and of Cities.

December 7. By imperial decree the session of the Duma and of the Imperial Council is once more postponed.

December 9. Fifth war session of the Reichstag. Speech of the Chancellor on the possibility of peace.

December 12. New election of delegates to the Central and the Petrograd Committees of War Industry. Of 153 electors, 90 leave the meeting after the reading of the declaration of the Bolsheviks.

December 9. The Social-Democratic opposition (21 votes) comes out in the Reichstag against war appropriations. The Berne International Commission publishes in No. 111 of *Nashe Slovo* a list of parties who have adhered to the resolutions of the Zimmerwald Conference.

December 22. The German Reichstag passes the ten billion mark appropriation bill.

December 25. Convention of the French Socialist Party; a quite considerable, though unorganised, opposition against the war is manifested.

CHRONOLOGY OF LENIN'S LIFE

AUGUST, 1914—DECEMBER, 1915

1914

August. The outbreak of the war finds Lenin in the village of Poronino (Galicia).

August 7. Austrian authorities search Lenin's house. As a Russian, he is suspected of espionage. The gendarme who conducts the search takes away Lenin's manuscript on the agrarian question, mistaking the statistical tables for a code.

August 8. Lenin is summoned to Novy Targ, the district seat, and arrested.

August 19. After two weeks' confinement, Lenin is released, thanks to the efforts of several Russian and Polish Social-Democrats (Krupskaya, Hanecki, Ryazanov, and others), and with the aid of the Austrian Socialists, Victor Adler and Diamand.

August 26. Lenin obtains permission to leave Austria for Switzerland.

August 28. Lenin leaves for Switzerland.

September 5. Lenin arrives in Berne, where he writes the theses formulating the tasks of revolutionary Social-Democracy in connection with the European War.

September 6-8. Lenin's report on the theses to a limited conference held at G. Shklovsky's house (present: Zinoviev, Krupskaya, Safarov, Samoilov, Lilina); the conference adopts the theses in full.

First half of September. Lenin sends the theses on the war to the several sections of the Bolsheviks abroad.

September 13-14. Lenin sends the theses with Samoilov (member of the Bolshevik "group of five") to Russia, for discussion by the members of the Central Committee and the responsible leaders of the party and for co-ordination of views.

Second half of September. Lenin writes a letter to the majority of the Paris section of the Bolsheviks, approving their attitude on the war and on volunteering in the army. Lenin starts the work of uniting the internationalist elements in the international labour movement.

September 27. Italo-Swiss Socialist Conference at Lugano discusses Lenin's theses on the war.

First half of October. Lenin writes the manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. on the war and commissions the Geneva section of the Bolsheviks to issue it. Lenin attends the lecture of Kossovsky, member of the Bund, at Berne.

October 11. Lenin arrives in Lausanne, and speaks in opposition to Plekhanov's chauvinist position taken in his lecture on "The Atittude of Socialists towards the War."

October 14. Lenin delivers a lecture in Lausanne on "The Proletariat and the War."

October 15. Lenin delivers a lecture in Geneva on "The European War and Socialism."

October 16. Shlyapnikov, who has come from Petrograd to Stockholm for the purpose of restoring connections with the Foreign Bureau of the Central Committee, notifies Lenin of the adherence of the members of the Central Committee in Russia to his theses on the war.

Middle of October. Lenin decides to resume the publication of the *Sotsial-Demokrat,* Central Organ of the party.

October 26. Lenin lectures in Montreux.

October 27. Lenin lectures in Zurich on "The European War and Socialism."

November 1. After one year's interruption the *Sotsial-Demokrat* resumes publication, with Lenin as editor and with his close participation. No. 33 of *Sotsial-Demokrat* prints the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. ("The War and Russian Social-Democracy") and an article on "The Position and Tasks of the Socialist International," both written by Lenin.

November 14. In a letter to Shlyapnikov, Lenin outlines for him the general character of the address to be delivered by him as representative of the Central Committee at the Convention of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party.

Middle of November. Lenin sends a letter to the editor of the *Vorwärts,* protesting against the distorted account given by that paper of his lecture given on October 27 in Zurich.

November 17. Lenin finishes and sends to Russia the article on Karl Marx for the Granat Encyclopedia. Lenin sends translations of the Manifesto of the Central Committee to several French, English, and German papers.

November 21. Lenin directs the Geneva section of the Bolsheviks to arrange the lecture of Inessa Armand (in French) on "The Several Currents among Russian Socialists in Relation to the Attitude towards the War," in connection with Plekhanov's chauvinist propaganda.

December 16. Lenin takes the floor in Berne in opposition to Martov's lecture on "The War and the Crisis of Socialism."

December 23. Correspondence between Lenin and Shlyapnikov, through whom he maintains contact with organisations in Russia. In a series of letters Lenin formulates the immediate objects of revolutionary Social-Democracy and gives directions on the activities to be carried on.

1915

January. In two letters to A. M. Kollontai Lenin raises the question of bringing about a union of internationalist elements and of working out a platform for such a union.

February. Lenin writes the article "Under a Stolen Flag" for the collective book *Priliv,* which a group of Bolsheviks plans to issue in Russia.

February 14. At the direction of Lenin Comrade Maximovich (M. Litvinov) presents to the London Conference of Socialists of the Entente countries a revolutionary-internationalist declaration written by Lenin.

February 27-March 4. Lenin directs the work of the Conference of Bolshevik sections abroad, held at Berne, and reads a report on the main point on the agenda "The War and the Tasks of the Party."

March 26-28. Lenin directs the action of the delegates of the Central Committee (Krupskaya, Inessa Armand, Lilina, Ravich) at the International Conference of Socialist Women.

April 5-6. Lenin directs the action of the delegates of the Central Committee at the International Youth Conference held at Berne.

Second half of May. Owing to Krupskaya's illness, Lenin transfers his residence to Sorenberg, a small mountain village.

July 28. Lenin, in collaboration with Zinoviev, finishes the pamphlet *Socialism and War.*

July-August. In a series of letters to A. M. Kollontai, Lenin gives directions in regard to inducing the Swedish and Norwegian Socialists of the Left to take part in the planned International Conference, and also points out the necessity of a joint declaration of Socialists of the Left denouncing social-chauvinists and opportunists and formulating a programme of revolutionary action. Lenin sends to Kollontai the draft of a declaration of revolutionary internationalist Social-Democrats.

August. Lenin takes part in the editing of the first issue of the *Kommunist.*

August 23. In a letter to Shlyapnikov and in connection with the latter's proposed trip to Russia, Lenin outlines the objects of that trip and the programme of Bolshevik activities in Russia.

End of August. Lenin arranges the translation and publication of the pamphlet *Socialism and War* in German and other languages.

August-September. Lenin works out a plan of publication of a series of anti-war pamphlets and of the recruiting of contributors for that series. Lenin edits Kollontai's pamphlet *Who Needs the War?*

September 5-8. Lenin takes the most active part in the proceedings of the Zimmerwald Conference, directs the Left Wing there, which proposes its own drafts of a manifesto of the Conference and of a resolution on "The World War and the Tasks of Social-Democracy"; he signs the manifesto of the Conference in behalf of the Central Committee of the R.S.-D.L.P. Lenin reads a report at a private conference of the Zimmerwald Left.

September. Lenin writes to Kollontai in reference to her proposed trip to America and raises the question regarding the organisation of internationalist elements in the United States; he also points out the necessity of publishing an English translation of the pamphlet *Socialism and War.*

Beginning of October. Lenin returns from Sorenberg to Berne.

October 23. Lenin delivers a lecture in Geneva on "Revolutionary Marxists at the International Socialist Conference of September 5-8, 1915."

November 9. In a letter written to Kollontai in America, Lenin again discusses the necessity of organising the internationalist elements there and of publishing an English pamphlet, which should contain the text of the resolution and of the manifesto proposed by the Left at Zimmerwald. (These documents were published in German as No. 1 of the *Internationale Flugblätter* [*International Leaflets*]). Lenin sends Kollontai 500 copies of the German edition of *Socialism and War* for purposes of propaganda in America.

November (between the 9th and the 22nd). Lenin writes a reply to the Socialist Propaganda League in America, in which he explains the platform and the tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy (the Zimmerwald Left).

November. Lenin writes the article "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination."

December. Lenin writes the articles "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," "On Chauvinism, German and Non-German," and the preface to Bukharin's *Imperialism and World Economy.*

THE END

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